

# THE LAND WE LIVE IN

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

ON ITS

HISTORY \* GEOGRAPHY  
\* \* CIVIL GOVERNMENT \* \*  
AND RESOURCES

CHICAGO: A. FLANAGAN PUBLISHER

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# The Land We Live In.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

ON UNITED STATES HISTORY.

BY W. I. CHASE.

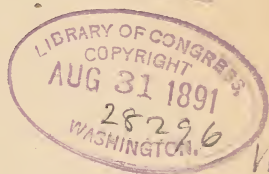
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## PREFACE.

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The following series of questions and answers upon the history of the United States, from the colonial period down to the year 1888, was prepared by the late Mr. W. I. Chase, with most assiduous care, and was completed by him in August, 1888. Mr. Chase died in 1889, and his plan of continuing this work so as to include the geography, civil government, institutions and resources of the United States as well as its history, has not yet been carried out. The great favor with which these historical questions have been received in pamphlet form has led the publishers to continue their publication in more permanent shape as here given. We have no hesitation in asserting that no such clear, concise and truthful resume of our national history was ever presented before. Certain periods, that in most histories are, for political reasons, slurred over if not unfairly presented, as the period immediately preceding the civil war, and the reconstruction period, are here described frankly and fully, and at the same time with such entire freedom from partisan bias, that no honest reader can wrest the account to cause for offense. Mr. Chase had an exceptional power of singling out the well-substantiated from the doubtful statements of history, and of transcribing the former clearly, without blurring their outlines by the addition of personal or party opinions. No less noteworthy was his power of grouping facts, so as to show their relation to each other. "Facts," he said, "are mere dead timber, which in the rough is neither ornamental nor particularly

useful, but which, after selection and arrangement, may become an edifice possessing both beauty and utility. The object of the teaching of history is the construction of mental edifices, and not the tabulation of facts like so much cordwood according to arbitrary classification."

In review work, and in examinations, this little manual will be found of the greatest value to both pupils and teachers. It is not meant to take the place of fuller histories, but as a guide to what is of most importance in those histories it is unequalled.

CHICAGO, August, 1891

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# THE LAND WE LIVE IN.

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Its History, Geography, Civil Government, Institutions, Resources, Etc.

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## UNITED STATES HISTORY.

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### CHAPTER I—THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

1. When does the history of the United States properly begin?

With the union of the American colonies as a separate nation.

2. Give the history of the formation of this union, with dates.

The first continental congress to consider the union of the colonies to resist the oppression of the English government met at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774. It simply recommended united action. The second congress, which met May 10, 1775, was authorized (by the circumstances of its election) to form a union and to legislate in the name of the united colonies. It was not until July 4, 1776, that this congress saw fit to declare the separation from England final and irrevocable, and it is with this Declaration of Independence that the history of the United States naturally begins.

3. How many and which colonies united to form the new confederation?

Thirteen. These were—stating them in the order of their age—Virginia, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York,

Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Georgia. There was also a fourteenth colony, Vermont, that claimed and exercised the right of self-government, but its rights were disputed by other colonies, and its independence was not immediately recognized by the confederation.

4. What territory did the colony of Virginia occupy?

In actual settlement but a small portion of the present state of Virginia. Her territory, however, included both Virginia and West Virginia, and all the country west of these as far as the Mississippi river. From this territory were taken Kentucky and the southern portion of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Virginia also laid claim to what is now the northern part of those states and the states of Michigan and Wisconsin, but here her claim was traversed by those of Connecticut and Massachusetts.

5. Upon what were these claims based?

On the original patents issued by King James I of England. By these patents the vast territory named Virginia, extending from Cape Fear to Passamaquoddy Bay, was divided between two rival companies, at London and Plymouth, for the purposes of trade and settlement.

6. When, where and by whom was Virginia first settled?

The first permanent settlement was made at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, by a colony of Englishmen sent out by the London company.

7. How was the colony of Virginia governed?

At first by a council appointed by the king, and after 1619 by a legislative assembly elected by the people and a governor appointed at first by the company and afterward by the crown.

8. How long did the company continue in existence?

In 1624 the London company was dissolved and Virginia became a royal province. It so continued until the revolution, with the exception of a short period of seven years from 1677 to 1684, when a proprietary government was established under a temporary grant from King Charles II to two personal favorites, Lords Arlington and Culpeper.

9. What was the population of Virginia at the beginning of the revolution?

About 560,000. Virginia was the most populous, as well as the richest, of the American colonies.

10. What was her chief industry?

The cultivation, preparation and export of tobacco. This

commodity became so staple that it was recognized, to all intents and purposes, as money—purchases being made, and debts, salaries and taxes paid with it. Its price, however, varied, ranging from 2 to 12 cents, according to supply and demand. (As prices went, this was equal to 10 to 50 cents in our day.)

11. What can you say concerning land tenure and local government in this colony?

Its land tenure resembled that of Great Britain. Large landed estates entailed upon the eldest male heir, were common, and it was a popular complaint that all the desirable land in the colony was in the possession of a few persons. (Lord Thomas Fairfax owned 5,282,000 acres lying between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers. This estate was confiscated after the revolution.) Local magistrates were appointed by the governor, but the planters formed an aristocracy that monopolized or controlled these appointments, or at the worst ignored them, each planter claiming supremacy upon his own estate.

12. What of the towns and cities?

There were few towns, and none of commercial importance. Vessels, moored in the rivers, received their cargoes from the flatboats of the individual planters, and delivered the goods brought from abroad in the same primitive fashion.

13. Where was the seat of government?

At Williamsburg, between the York and James rivers. This town was founded in 1632, and is the oldest incorporated town in Virginia. (It was the colonial and state capital until 1779, when the transfer to Richmond was made.)

14. Whence was the name of this colony derived?

Virginia was so named by Sir Walter Raleigh in honor of the "virgin queen," Elizabeth.

15. By whom was New England first settled?

The first permanent settlement was made in December, 1620, at Plymouth, by the "Pilgrims," as they styled themselves. These were English "separatists," *i. e.*, those who had separated themselves from the established church of England—who, to escape government interference with their peculiar faith and practice, emigrated first to Holland and afterward to America.

16. Was this colony a success?

Not altogether. The colonists do not seem to have been regarded with favor, even by the English dissenters, for compar-

atively few of the many emigrating at that time, joined them. Ten years after the landing of the Pilgrims, the colony contained but 300 persons, and in 1692, when the Plymouth settlement was absorbed by that of Massachusetts Bay, it numbered only about 8,000.

17. When and by whom was the Massachusetts Bay colony founded?

In 1628 a company of English Puritans purchased from the council for New England (successors to the Plymouth company to which James I granted North Virginia) a tract of land extending from three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimac river to three miles south of the Charles river, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A colony was sent out, and a charter was granted by King Charles I, vesting the government of the new settlement in the company which had purchased the land. Two years later, this company (in violation of its charter, the king declared) transferred its headquarters to the American shores where settlements had been made at Salem and Charlestown.

18. Were these Puritans Separatists like the Plymouth Pilgrims?

No; they claimed to be members of the Church of England who could not conscientiously conform to its religious practice. They sought in America liberty to establish a reformed church.

19. Did this colony thrive?

It throve amazingly almost from the outset. In 1630 some 1500 settlers arrived, and Boston, Dorchester, Cambridge, Lynn and other towns were founded in that year. Massachusetts—including, of course, the Plymouth settlement—contained in 1775 some 360,000 inhabitants.

20. How was this colony governed?

Under the government at first established, the colonists were allowed to choose their own governor and legislators, but in 1686 their charter was revoked by King James II, and the colony became a possession of the crown, to be governed by the king's appointees. After the accession of William and Mary, the colonists recovered the right to choose their legislature but not their governor. (Boston has always been the capital.)

21. Note the difference in the government set up by the colonists at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay respectively?

The chief difference appears in the extension of the fran-

chise. At Plymouth the franchise was on a democratic basis, each adult male freeman having a vote. In the other colony, church membership was necessary to qualify a man for the franchise, so that not one-fourth of the adult males were entitled to vote. To this unwise restriction of the franchise must be ascribed the religious intolerance of the Massachusetts colonial government.

22. What was the natural result of such a provision in the government?

It threw the political leadership into the hands of the most dogmatic and illiberal church-goers. Every plea for liberality toward other beliefs became an offense that, if persisted in, speedily led to expulsion and consequent political disfranchisement. Those unwilling to tyrannize and persecute, kept silence out of regard for their own safety. (King Charles II forced the colonists to extend the suffrage to dissenters, for which they should have been duly grateful.)

23. What was the most notable feature of the local government of these colonies?

The town meeting, at which the people decided questions and chose local officials by the votes of the electors assembled. This was the origin of the system of township organization that now generally prevails in the northern states.

24. What territory belonged to colonial Massachusetts?

Massachusetts, as a colony, was bounded as at present, but she also claimed a strip of western territory under the Bay company's original purchase, which extended to the Pacific. New York and Canada traversed this grant, and to these she yielded without dispute, but she barred Virginia's northwestern extension by claiming her strip—between the parallels of the Merrimac and the Charles—from Lake Huron to the Mississippi; beyond this river the country belonged to France.

25. What other colony had a similar claim?

Connecticut. Her claim extended from the western New York and Pennsylvania line to the Mississippi. Connecticut, therefore, also opposed Virginia's claims to the northwestern territory.

26. How were these conflicting claims finally settled?

By cession to the federal government after the formation of the union.

27. Whence the name of Massachusetts?



It was the name of a tribe of Indians, and is said to mean "blue hills."

28. When, where and by whom was New Hampshire first settled?

In 1623, at Dover and Portsmouth, by English colonists under John Mason and Ferdinand Gorges. These two men secured, from the council for New England, a grant of the territory between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers, and northwest to the St. Lawrence. Subsequently a division was made, and John Mason called his share New Hampshire, after his home in Hampshire, England.

29. Was the colony prosperous?

No; it grew but slowly, and suffered greatly from the depredations of the Indians. In 1641 it was, at its own request, united with Massachusetts. It was re-established as a separate crown colony by King Charles II, but, left to itself after the British revolution of 1688, it again joined Massachusetts; from which it was again separated by royal decree in 1691.

30. How was it governed?

At first by its proprietors; afterwards, as a royal colony, by a governor appointed by the king, and a legislature chosen by itself. Locally, it was governed, like Massachusetts, by selectmen chosen at the town meeting. (The seat of government was first at Portsmouth, and afterward at Exeter, but early in the present century it was removed to Concord.)

31. What was its population at the beginning of the American revolution?

About 80,000.

32. How was the country south of the Massachusetts Bay colony settled?

First by pioneers from Massachusetts, seeking to better themselves or escape from the rigorous supervision of the Puritan government. Settlements were thus made in Connecticut, Wethersfield, Windsor and Hartford being founded in 1634, 1635, and 1636 respectively. The territory had before this (in 1630-31) been granted to the earl of Warwick and by him transferred to Lord Say and Lord Brooke and others that had joined them, who, two years later, founded the small colony at Saybrook near the mouth of the Connecticut river. In 1644 the Saybrook colony united with the more populous settlements of the interior, and this colony, under the general name of Connecticut, afterward succeeded by purchase to the territorial rights originally granted to Warwick.

33. What other colony was founded in Connecticut?

In 1638 the colony of New Haven was founded by a band of English Puritans, who sought to establish a settlement similar to that of Massachusetts Bay. Only church members were allowed to vote, and the Bible, that is, the Mosaic law, was declared the fundamental law of the colony. This colony, which had no charter, maintained its individuality only till 1665, when it was merged in the colony of Connecticut.

34. Had the other colony a charter?

Not until 1665, when a very favorable one was obtained from Charles II. Twenty-eight years before that, the settlements about Hartford formed a general court, and proceeded to govern themselves, ignoring both the Massachusetts government from which they had fled, and the proprietary government at Saybrook; but this was not recognized in England. It was this Hartford government that purchased the rights of the proprietors, and, through the influence of Lord Say, a charter was finally secured.

35. Was the union between the Hartford and New Haven colonies permanent?

Yes. But little remained to remind the colonists of the double origin. The two capitals, at which the legislature met in alternate sessions, were maintained until 1874.

36. How was this colony governed?

Under its charter it had the most absolute rights of self-government. The charter was suspended for a time by James II, but restored after the revolution of 1688. Its town government was modeled on that of Massachusetts, but was much more liberal in its administration.

37. With whom did the settlers contend for the possession of their lands?

Both with the Pequot Indians, with whom they waged long and bitter wars, and with the Dutch of New Amsterdam, whom they drove easily from the Connecticut valley.

38. Was the colony a thriving one?

Decidedly so. Its population in 1775 had risen to 200,000.

39. Whence the name of this colony?

From its principal river, which was called Connecticut, that is, in the Indian tongue, "long river."

40. What led to the settlement of Rhode Island?

Rhode Island, like Connecticut, was first settled by fugitives from Massachusetts Bay. Among the first settlers was Roger

Williams, who, being banished from the Massachusetts Bay colony for denying the right of the state to meddle with any man's religion, secured a tract of land from the Indians, and founded Providence Plantation in 1636. Other settlers came in, and took possession of the large island in the bay, which had been named Roodt Eyland—"red island"—by the Dutch sailors who discovered it.

41. How were these settlements governed?

They chose their own rulers and made their own laws, first under a constitution formed by themselves, and after 1643 under a charter procured from the British parliament. This charter was confirmed in 1654, and again by King Charles in 1663.

42. What was the full name of this colony?

The colony of the Rhode Island and Providence plantations. This is still the official name of the State of Rhode Island, and as a reminder of the fact, the State has two capitals.

43. Was the colony prosperous?

The colony prospered. Its government promised the largest degree of religious liberty, and this attracted many emigrants. The encroachments of Connecticut on the east and Massachusetts on the north threatened for a time to absorb the colony, but they were successfully combated. The charter of the colony was suspended by King James, but was restored by William and Mary. The population in 1775 was about 50,000.

44. Whence the name, New England, applied to these northeastern colonies?

That name was given to the country by Capt. John Smith, of Virginia, who first explored these coasts.

45. What was the New England Union?

In 1643, the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, formed a confederacy for mutual defense. They refused to admit Rhode Island, whose territory they claimed as their own. This union lasted until 1660, when it was given up.

46. What was the nature of the union?

A confederacy against the Indians and the Dutch (and Rhode Island), which did not affect the autonomy of the several colonies. While the union lasted, each of the confederate colonies sent two commissioners, who discussed questions of peace or war, and the matters relating to the general interest.

47. What were the chief industries in the colonies?



At first, agriculture, hunting and fishing, to which were afterward added various manufactures, ship-building and commerce. There was no great staple, like tobacco in Virginia, and the colonists did each what seemed the most profitable. The navigation acts, which were designed for the protection of British manufacturers—to prevent the growth of colonial trade with foreign nations, bore hardly on the people of New England, who were consequently firm believers in free trade. The navigation acts—the first of which was passed in 1651—were accordingly evaded by common consent, as were also the acts of 1690 prohibiting the manufacture of woolen and iron goods, as well as paper, hats, and leather in the colonies.

48. When and by whom was the city and colony of New York founded?

In 1623, by the Dutch, who claimed the country from the Connecticut to the Delaware; basing their claim on the discovery of the Hudson river by Henry Hudson in 1609, and on the subsequent visits of Dutch merchants to traffic with the Indians.

49. Give the history of the Dutch occupation.

Holland granted the country to the Dutch West India company, and under its direction a settlement was made on Manhattan Island, called New Amsterdam; and villages and trading posts were established at many other points in the "New Netherlands"—as the Dutch possessions in North America were called. For forty years the colony owed allegiance to Holland, but in 1664 the English took possession of it. Its name was then changed to New York in honor of the Duke of York,—afterward King James II—to whom his royal brother, King Charles II, granted the conquered territory.

50. What was the experience of the colony under its Dutch governors?

Quiet and uneventful. The colonists had little or no trouble with the Indians, with whom they drove a thriving trade for furs, etc. They resisted for a time the encroachments of the New Englanders in the Connecticut Valley, and those of the Swedes on the Delaware river, but soon gave way to the former and conquered the latter, thus securing peace for the colony until its conquest by England in 1664.

51. How did the mode of settlement compare with that in New England and Virginia?

The Dutch company promoted settlement by granting large tracts of land to "patroons," who brought over a specified number of settlers for their estates, the emigrants renting instead of

owning (as in New England) the land they tilled. In Virginia similar plantations were tilled by negro slaves. The New York patroon owned slaves, and often held his own countrymen in temporary bondage, but he seems to have found it more profitable to rent than to till his land even with cheap labor.

52. What was the chief agricultural product?

Tobacco, that being a staple export in New York as it was in Virginia. So much attention was given to the tobacco crop that the colony was one year threatened with famine, and the authorities ordered that thereafter a hill of corn should be planted for every hill of tobacco.

53. How did Holland regard the seizure of her American possessions?

With great indignation. When at war with England in 1673, she sent a fleet and reconquered them; but she gave them up again in making peace with England the following year.

54. Compare the government of the colony under Dutch and under English rule.

Under Dutch rule the legislative and executive power was in the company and in the governor as its deputy. The people were virtually excluded from the government, though the governor was supposed to consult with, and be advised by, a council representing the colonists. The people—or rather certain favored communities—chose double the desired number of representatives, and from these the governor selected his council. This council he habitually bullied and affronted, so that the people gained little by their so-called representative voice in the administration of affairs. As a royal colony under English rule, New York elected her assembly and made her own laws, subject to the approval of the crown. She suffered much, however, from the incapable and tyrannical rule of the governors appointed by the king. Between these and the people there was continual strife.

55. What was "Leisler's rebellion?"

In 1689 the people of New York deposed and banished an unpopular governor, and put one of the citizens, Jacob Leisler, in his place. The new governor sent out by the king arrested Leisler, and tried, convicted, and executed him as a traitor, to the great indignation of the colonists.

56. Was the colony prosperous under British rule?

Yes. It increased in numbers, and also in wealth through trade with the Indians, and commerce with the other colonies and with Europe. New York suffered less than New England

from Indian wars, but she suffered more from pirates; and one of the ship masters sent out by the colonial government to chastise the buccaneers, broke faith and turned pirate himself. This was the notorious Capt. Kidd.

57. How did the colony compare with others?

New York was one of the smaller colonies, the settlements being generally confined to the valleys of the Hudson and its tributaries. The chief cities were New York, Albany and Kingston. The population of the colony in 1775 was about 180,000.

58. What was the form of local government in the colony?

Under the Dutch, the patroons were supreme on their own estates, and the governor's representatives ruled elsewhere. In New Amsterdam a municipal government was organized in 1650 to consist of "one schout, two burgomasters, and five schepens, to be elected by the citizens in the manner usual in the city of Amsterdam (Holland)." The schout answered very closely to the English sheriff, the burgomaster to the mayor (the two holding office alternately, a day at a time), and the schepens to the justice of the peace. These three classes of officers, holding their places one year, composed the city council. In the election referred to, those who were, or had been, members of the council, met and selected a duplicate "ticket" (as we should say) and from this list of candidates the governor made the appointments. Even under this system, the governor found the councilors too independent, and limited their powers, refusing to recognize their right to nominate their successors. Not till after the revolution did New York establish anything like the town government principle that prevailed in New England.

59. What other colonies were formed from the Dutch possessions?

New Jersey and Delaware.

60. When was New Jersey colonized?

After the seizure of the New Netherlands by the English, the Duke of York conveyed the southern portion of his grant to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. In 1676 it was divided, East Jersey belonging to Carteret, and West Jersey to a company of Quakers who brought out Berkeley's interest. In 1702, all the proprietors ceded their rights to the queen, and New Jersey became a royal colony. She had her own assembly, but was under the governor of New York until 1738.

61. What settlements were made?

The first settlement was made at Elizabethtown, in 1664, by Puritans from Long Island. Newark was settled in 1666. This was one of the capitals; the other was Perth Amboy, a thriving settlement that was once thought destined to become a greater city than New York.

62. Whence the name of this colony?

New Jersey was so named as a compliment to Sir George Carteret, who had been governor of the Island of Jersey.

63. How was the colony governed?

At first by an assembly elected by the people, and a governor appointed by the proprietors. As a royal colony, the governors were appointed by the crown, and these, we are told, often tried to over-rule the assembly contrary to the rights of the people, derived from the "concessions" of the original proprietors. For all that, the colony was one of the freest from tyranny, both of church and state.

64. What was the population of this colony in 1775?

About 130,000.

65. When and by whom was Delaware first settled?

In 1638, by a company of Swedes and Finns, led by Peter Minuit, a former governor of New Amsterdam. The settlement was made at Christina, so named in honor of the queen of Sweden.

66. Give the history of this colony.

It was quite a strong settlement when, in 1655, it was conquered by Dutch from New Amsterdam, who claimed the territory. It was then sold (first in part, and afterward as a whole) by the West India company to the city of Amsterdam, Holland, and under its new owner the Dutch colony of Newer Amstel—afterward called Newcastle—was founded. The colony passed with the New Netherlands into the possession of the Duke of York, who sold it, in 1682, to William Penn.

67. How was it governed?

Under the Swedes and Dutch by governors appointed by its proprietors; under Penn and his heirs, by the governor of Pennsylvania, assisted, after 1703, by an assembly elected by the colonists. It was virtually a province of Pennsylvania till the revolution.

68. Whence the name of this state?

From the river and bay which front it; these were named in honor of Lord Delaware, who died off this coast in 1610. As a colony, Delaware was called New Sweden by the Swedes, the

South River Colony, and Newer Amstel—from New Amstel, Holland—by the Dutch, and the “territories” or “the three lower counties on the Delaware,” by the Quakers of Pennsylvania. Organized as a separate commonwealth, it was called the Delaware state, and afterward, as now, the state of Delaware.

69. What was the population at the time of the revolution?

About 40,000.

70. When and by whom was Pennsylvania founded?

The first settlements in Pennsylvania territory were made by the Swedes and Dutch of the Delaware colony. The colony of Pennsylvania was founded in 1681, by William Penn. A Quaker settlement had before this been made in West Jersey, but Penn projected a colony on a larger scale. He obtained a grant of land from King Charles II, as a reward for the services of his father, the Admiral Penn, and he strengthened his title by purchasing the land of the Indians.

71. How was the colony governed?

By a deputy appointed by the proprietor, and a legislature chosen by the colonists. Penn promised complete civil and religious liberty to all comers, and framed his government accordingly. The majority of the first settlers were English Quakers, but there were always a large number of other nationalities and religious persuasions.

72. How long did Penn's proprietorship continue?

It was suspended for a time in 1692—Penn being suspected of favoring the deposed king, James II—but was soon restored, and after Penn's death in 1718 descended to his sons. The proprietor's right to nominate the governor of the colony, and through him to interfere with its government, became very irksome to the colonists, and the tenants on the proprietary estates objected to the rents they were asked to pay. Both these were abolished by the colony at the revolution, and Penn's heirs were afterward compensated by a state grant of \$650,000.

73. By whom was Pennsylvania named?

The name—signifying Penn's Woodlands—was proposed by King Charles II. The proprietor modestly demurred, but yielded, of course, to his majesty's wish.

74. Was the colony prosperous?

Yes; it thrived and grew slowly but steadily. Its principal industry was farming; the extent of its mineral wealth being unknown. Philadelphia—the “city of brotherly love,” founded by Penn—was the only town of importance, and was larger



than New York until after the revolution. The population of the colony in 1775 was about 300,000.

75. What form of local government prevailed?

In Pennsylvania—as in other proprietary colonies—the land was divided into counties whose affairs were administered by a court of sessions, appointed by the governor, the chief magistrate of the colony. The county, and not the parish or town (as in New England) thus became the important political division.

76. Under what circumstances was the colony of Maryland founded?

The Roman Catholics were oppressed by the laws of England, and the colony of Maryland was projected by one of their number, Lord Baltimore, to offer them a refuge. A grant of land was obtained from King Charles I, and Lord Baltimore dying about that time, his plans were carried out by his son, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore. Under his direction a settlement was made in 1634 at St. Marys, near the mouth of the Potomac river.

77. Who were the first settlers?

Like the colonists at Plymouth, they called themselves “Pilgrims.” They were for the most part Roman Catholics, including many English gentlemen of that faith. A welcome was, however, extended to the Christians of whatever denomination, and the colony soon contained more Protestants than Romanists.

78. What sort of government was established?

A very liberal one, especially with regard to the profession of religion. A charter was granted the colony, by its proprietor, giving all freemen a voice in making the laws, and the assembly chosen under this charter passed, in 1649, the “toleration act,” declaring that “no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ,” should be “in any way troubled or molested,” in the exercise of his religion.

79. Was a like toleration extended to Jews, Turks, and infidels?

No; the assembly decreed that any one speaking against (or denying) the Holy Trinity, should, for the first offense, be bored through the tongue and fined or imprisoned; that for the second offense he should be branded (with the letter B) as a blasphemer; and for the third offense he should die.

80. Was the Toleration Act maintained?

Only so long as the colony was under Roman Catholic government. During the parliamentary interregnum and Cromwell's protectorate, the zealous Puritans who had seized the government of Virginia, came over and with the help of the Maryland Protestants took possession of that colony also. At this time the Toleration Act was amended to exclude from its benefits papists and prelatists, and also (by implication) Quakers and Anabaptists. Not until 1657-58 did Lord Baltimore regain control of the government and restore general religious toleration. Again, after the revolution of 1688, the proprietary government of Maryland was suspended and the Virginian emigrants allowed to get control and establish the Episcopal church. Toleration was extended to Protestant dissenters, but not to Romanists.

81. How long did this Episcopal supremacy continue?

Until the American revolution, for though the proprietary government was restored in 1715, it was only done after the fifth Lord Baltimore gave up his church and became a Protestant.

82. What occasioned the boundary dispute between Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and how did it end?

Lord Baltimore's grant extended to the 40th parallel, and Penn's grant was understood to be north of that line. Penn desired to reach the headwaters of the Chesapeake Bay, and was disappointed to find his territory so far removed from it. On his purchase from the Duke of York he based a claim to the upper part of the Delaware peninsula, and he persistently refused to have the boundary lines fixed. Baltimore had a prior claim to Delaware but the English privy council in 1685 decided the matter by cutting the disputed territory through the center from north to south. The northern boundary line was finally settled according to an agreement between the Maryland proprietor and the Penn heirs in 1732. Some two and a half million acres of Maryland land were thus donated to Pennsylvania.

83. When was the line fixed?

In 1760, for some 240 miles at least, by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two English surveyors, employed for the purpose. "Mason and Dixon's Line," as it was afterwards called, was marked with mile stones, every fifth stone having the arms of the Baltimore family on one side and the arms of the Penn family on the other.

84. Was the colony of Maryland prosperous?

Yes; except for internal dissensions. The population increased rapidly, there were no Indian wars to speak of, crops were good and food plentiful. Tobacco was the chief staple, and, as in Virginia, it was held legal tender for taxes and debts, commerce increased, but towns were few and far between. St. Mary's was the capital till 1693, when the governor called the assembly to Annapolis. Neither town attained any great size and Baltimore soon outgrew them. The population in 1775 was about 220,000.

85. What was the form of local government?

That of the county, based on the county court. There was no town organization.

86. Whence the name of this colony?

The name was given by King Charles I, in honor of his queen, Henrietta Maria. Lord Baltimore meant to call it Crescentia, the "growing" colony.

87. To whom was North Carolina granted?

North Carolina was included in the grant of South Virginia to the London Company, but, disregarding this fact, King Charles II, in 1663, granted the country lying between latitude 29° and 36:30 and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to eight of his personal friends.

88. When and by whom was the country settled?

The first permanent settlements were made by pioneers from Virginia at some time previous to the king's grant, and, in 1661, New England Puritans had established a colony. To these were added, in 1665, a company of English emigrants from the Barbadoes Islands. The new proprietors grouped the scattered settlements in one colony, which they called Albemarle, as a compliment to the Duke of Albemarle, one of their number.

89. What form of government was established?

The proprietors set up an elaborate scheme of government, modeled on feudal institutions, and said to have been designed by the celebrated philosopher, John Locke. This "Grand Model," as it was called, proved offensive to the colonists, and, owing to their persistent opposition, the proprietors first modified and finally abandoned it.

90. What were the main features of the Grand Model?

The country was laid off in counties of 480,000 acres each. Of this land one-fifth was reserved to the proprietors, one-fifth assigned to the nobility, to be created by the proprietors, and, the remaining three-fifths were to be sold, leased, or granted to



settlers, according to the will of the proprietors. The colony was to be ruled by a governor and a parliament of two houses, the lower elected by land owners and the upper containing seven deputies of the proprietors, seven of the oldest noblemen of the higher ranks, and seven members chosen by the lower house.

91. Who constituted the nobility?

The three orders of nobility proposed were landgraves, caziques and barons. One landgrave with 48,000 acres of land; one cazique with 24,000 acres, and two barons with 12,000 acres each, were to be assigned to each county. These nobles were magistrates in their respective counties.

92. What part did the proprietors take in the government?

Besides appointing the governor and their deputies in the parliament, the eight proprietors sat as a third house in England, with power to approve or reject the colonial laws, or even, if they saw fit, to repeal them.

93. Was this scheme of government ever carried out?

No; the governors made a valiant effort to carry out the instructions of the proprietors, but popular opposition defeated it. After 1693 the proprietors yielded and greatly simplified their plan of government.

94. Did the proprietorship continue?

No; in 1729 the proprietors were induced to give up their rights to the king, and the Carolinas became crown colonies, and so continued until the revolution. Lord Carteret, one of the proprietors, refused to convey his title and was assigned the northeastern part of the colony, where he continued his land offices and received his quit rents—75 cents per 100 acres—until the revolution.

95. When were the Carolinas divided?

They were from the first considered separate counties and allowed separate governors and assemblies. After the cession to the king, in 1729, they were recognized as distinct colonies.

96. Whence the name of these colonies?

Jean Ribaut, who essayed to plant a French colony at Port Royal in 1562, called the country Carolina in honor of his king, Charles IX, of France. The English retained the name as a compliment to their king, Charles II, of England.

97. Was North Carolina prosperous as a colony?

Decidedly so. Though the population at first grew but slowly, emigration in later years soon overcame any deficiency.

In 1711 a colony of Swiss founded Newbern, and after the failure of the Jacobite rebellion in Scotland, in 1740, the disaffected Scotch emigrated by thousands, and many came to North Carolina. Fayetteville was founded by these Scotch refugees, in 1746. Altogether the colony, in 1775, numbered about 260,000, taking the fourth rank among the colonies in point of population.

98. What were the chief causes of tribulation to the colonists?

The war with the Tuscarora Indians, in 1711; the scattered population, the lack of good roads, and the consequent absence of anything like internal commerce, and the notable deficiency in schools. But worse than all these combined was the vexation endured from the government. The governors appointed by the proprietors and by the king were, with few exceptions, corrupt or tyrannical, and they were, moreover, engaged to enforce very unpopular measures.

99. What were these measures?

The attempt to impose on the people the "Grand Model" system of government was considered tyrannical and resisted with determination. A similar attempt to establish the Episcopal Church and discriminate against dissenters was likewise foiled. The enforcement of the British navigation acts provoked continual strife between governor and people, as did also the attempt of the governors to collect taxes and rents in sterling money, of which there was but little in the colony. The people in some places organized themselves in bands, self-styled Regulators, to resist the officers of the law and especially the tax-collectors. With these Regulators Gov. Tryon, in 1771, fought a pitched battle and defeated them. The severity with which the conquered rebels were treated made the governor very unpopular, as they undoubtedly had wrongs to complain of.

100. What was the form of government in 1730-75?

The governor, who held his office at the pleasure of the crown, was the chief executive officer, and all judges, sheriffs and justices of the peace were appointed by him and were removable at his pleasure. He also nominated and procured the appointment of the members of his majesty's council for North Carolina, which constituted the upper house of the assembly. He had, moreover, an absolute veto on any act that might be passed by both houses. The members of the lower house were elected by free-holders who were in possession of fifty acres of land. They were chosen by counties; Albemarle county sending five, Bertie county three, and other counties

two each; and there were also borough members representing the incorporated towns. The members of the lower house retained their seats till the governor saw fit to dissolve the assembly (which he could do at any time) and order a new election.

101. What of the local government?

The county (and not the township) has, in North Carolina, always been the unit of local government, and its officials have always been appointed by the governor.

102. Where was the seat of government?

It was nomadic. Edenton, Newbern and Wilmington were the favored towns, but the governors changed its location at their pleasure, and one—Gov. Dobbs, in 1758—fixed it at his farm, Tower Hill, now Snow Hill, in Greene county.

103. What were the chief industries of the colony?

Agriculture and the manufacture of tar and turpentine.

104. When and where was the first English settlement made in South Carolina?

In 1670–71, at Old Charleston, opposite the present site of the city of that name, to which the colonists removed in 1680.

105. What people came to South Carolina?

Many Huguenots from France, Dutch from New York and from Holland, and other foreigners, but the main body of the colonists were from Great Britain, or from the other colonies.

106. Were foreigners welcomed?

They were well received by the government but not by the English and Anglo-Americans. These were especially hostile to the French, whom they at first arbitrarily disfranchised. Yet all these Protestants united some thirty years later to oppress the Catholic Irish, who then began to emigrate to the colonies in large numbers.

107. What was the chief product of this colony?

Rice, an East Indian grain, introduced in South Carolina in 1694.

108. Had the colonists many enemies to contend with?

Yes, they were often at war with the Indian tribes on the western borders, and the Spanish in Florida were a continual menace, inciting the Indians to war and the negro slaves to revolt. Not till England took possession of Florida, in 1763, did the Carolinians enjoy a settled peace.

109. How was this colony governed?

Like North Carolina. She escaped from the rule of the pro-

prietors somewhat earlier, however, as in 1719 the people over-turned the government and demanded recognition as a crown colony.

110. What was the population of this colony in 1775?

About 180,000.

111. What was the capital of the colony?

Charleston; the only town of importance during the colonial period.

112. Where, when and by whom were settlements first made in Georgia?

At Savannah, in 1733, by a colony of 114 English under Gen. James Oglethorpe.

113. What was the peculiar feature of this settlement?

The fact that its founding was an act of benevolence. Oglethorpe designed the colony as a refuge for insolvent debtors who were to be released from prison and assisted to emigrate. The land from the Savannah to the Altamaha had been granted by King George II to Oglethorpe and others in trust for the poor, and the colony could in no way become a source of profit to the trustees.

114. Was the colony designed exclusively for poor men?

No; all classes were welcomed, and grants of land tendered to those who would emigrate at their own expense, and bring servants to till their estates. Moreover, the trustees were soon dissatisfied with their poor debtors, and, conceiving that those who had been useless and improvident in England would continue so in the colony, diverted a part of their bounty to assisting German and Swiss protestants (and Scotch Highlanders as well) to emigrate to Georgia.

115. What especial service was expected of the Germans and Swiss?

Instruction of the colonists in the art of breeding silk worms and spinning silk. The trustees had great faith in this industry, and favored it by all possible means. Not only were grants made and bounties offered to promote excellence in the art, but it was made a qualification for members of the assembly that each should own one hundred mulberry trees, properly fenced, and have at least one female of his household—child, wife, or slave—instructed in reeling and spinning silk.

116. Did the industry flourish?

No; it took no permanent hold. Some enthusiasm was

roused in its favor, but the colonists generally found it distasteful or unprofitable and abandoned it.

117. What form of government was established?

At first, local government only, the town officers being answerable directly to the trustees. This plan did not work well after the departure of Oglethorpe—who had virtually acted as governor, though without bearing the title—and the trustees appointed a president and four assistants to form the colonial government. To these was added an annual representative assembly, with power to debate and propose laws which the trustees should, at their own pleasure, decree.

118. Did this government continue?

Only during the twenty-one years for which the board of trustees was incorporated. After that the trusteeship was discontinued, at the colony's request, and Georgia was governed like the Carolinas, as a crown colony.

119. Why did the colonists wish to change their government?

The colony was weak, numbering only about 5,000, and it was thought that the regulations of the trustees—especially those prohibiting rum, brandy, and negro slaves—discouraged emigration to Georgia. Other vexations were complained of, but these were the chief burdens.

120. Did the colony have any trouble with the Indians?

Very little; owing to Oglethorpe's wisdom and justice in dealing with the tribes in the vicinity of the settlements.

121. What trouble did they have with Florida?

Florida was, until 1763, in the possession of Spain, and the Spaniards resented the English settlement of South Carolina and Georgia as an encroachment on their territory. Even when Spain and England were at peace there was strife between their colonies, and when, in 1739, England declared war against Spain, Oglethorpe invaded Florida with the colonial troops and captured two towns. He laid siege to St. Augustine, but sickness compelled him to retire. In 1742, the Spaniards retaliated by invading Georgia, but were met and routed by Oglethorpe near the mouth of the Altamaha river.

122. What was the condition of the colony in 1775?

It was one of the weaker colonies, having only about 30,000 inhabitants. Savannah, Darien and Augusta were the principal towns, the first named being the seat of government.

123. What became of Oglethorpe, the founder of this colony?

He returned to England in 1743, and remained there until



his death, in 1785, at the age of 97. He saw the independence of the colonies acknowledged by Great Britain, and was congratulated on the fact by John Adams, our first minister to England.

124. What was the condition of the colonies in 1775?

An aggregate population of about 2,600,000 was distributed throughout the territory from Maine to Florida, and from the Appalachian mountain chain to the sea. The colonies had become acquainted with each other and were accustomed to call on each other for sympathy and aid in cases of emergency. Together they resisted the Indians and together they had assisted Great Britain in conquering, 1756-60, New France, *i. e.* Canada and the Ohio valley. Left to themselves, the colonies would naturally have drifted apart, through jealousy and the instinct of the would-be patriot to hate all countries but his own, but, being forced to unite to resist a common enemy, they became disposed to favor a permanent union.

125. Were the colonists well-to-do?

Comparatively few of the colonists could be called wealthy, though many of them owned large estates, which, under improved methods in agriculture, had become profitable. Despite restrictive legislation by the British parliament, commerce with foreign nations had become very profitable to some of the colonists, to say nothing of the lawful traffic with Great Britain, which had grown prodigiously. The country had, however, but little sterling money and was especially averse to any claim that could not be settled in the local currency of the colonies.

126. What was the condition of the colonies with regard to education?

Little provision was made for common schools, except in New England, where they were supported by the towns, but though the wealthy in other colonies might be indifferent to the education of the poor, they prized it for their own children, and private schools were well supported. There were nine colleges in the colonies, but it was still customary for the rich in the southern colonies to send their sons to England to complete their education.

127. What of the means of travelling between the colonies?

Conveyance could be had most easily by water. There were few made roads, very few ferries or bridges. Travelers without luggage could, of course, get about easily on horseback,

but merchants and emigrants found conveyance overland a much more difficult matter.

128. How about the newspapers and the mails?

There were but 37 newspapers printed and mails were infrequent and irregular. A monthly mail was considered sufficient even between the largest towns.

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## CHAPTER II—THE REVOLUTION.

129. Why did the colonies revolt?

Because they were not allowed certain rights of self-government to which they thought themselves entitled.

130. Where do we find their claims and complaints in this regard most accurately set forth?

In the declaration of rights made by the first continental congress at Philadelphia, Oct. 14, 1774.

131. Why not in the declaration of independence?

The declaration of rights was a bona-fide appeal to the people of England. The arraignment of the king in the declaration of independence is addressed to the world at large. Hence, though the facts stated in the latter document may be true, we may assume that the former declaration contains all essential demands of the colonists and all for which they would be willing to fight.

132. What principle was at the basis of the colonists' claims?

That as Englishmen by birth or descent they were entitled to the same degree of liberty that their kindred, actually resident in Great Britain, enjoyed.

133. Wherein were their liberties abridged?

It had come to be the recognized right of the British common people to participate in their legislative council, and to originate, through their representatives in the house of commons, all bills for levying taxes or expending money. The colonies, as a section of the British people not represented in parliament, were deprived of this right when taxed by the imperial parliament.

134. Did the colonists ask to be represented in the imperial parliament?

They did not ask it; and it may be concluded that they did not wish to be so represented. What they did ask was that their colonial legislatures, including, probably, some body representing the united colonies, might have the exclusive right to levy taxes in America.

135. Were the colonists disposed to deny altogether the right of the British parliament to legislate for them?

Not at first. They admitted the supremacy of the parliament in matters concerning the whole empire. They consented to parliamentary legislation for themselves, done in good faith, for the benefit of the empire, excluding, of course, any attempt at taxation.

136. Why did the English not concede the colonists' claims?

Mainly through distrust of their loyalty. The parliament maintained its right to tax America, not merely because the colonies were indebted to England for protection, but as a mark of colonial subordination. How easily financial independence would lead to virtual independence, the parliament had learned in its struggle with the crown in the seventeenth century.

137. Was this difference of opinion the sole cause of the war?

No; but the causes of the war may be said to have grown out of this difference of opinion. Nations go to war rather to punish their enemies than to defend their principles, but an honest difference of opinion provokes war by both prompting the preliminary dispute, and preventing the concessions that all wise men are willing to make to avert strife.

138. When did the dispute over the respective rights of parliament and the colonies begin?

The justice of the "acts of trade" had been always denied by the colonists affected by them, but it was the attempt, in 1764-5, to tax America, that provoked a general denial of the power of parliament in that regard.

139. What were the acts of trade?

The navigation acts, designed to restrict the commerce of the colonies for the benefit of English merchants; the tariff acts, levying customs duties on sugar, molasses and rum imported from the West Indies, and the acts restricting manufactures in the colonies. These acts were burdensome to the northern colonies, but the agricultural settlements cared little for the restriction. Moreover, these acts were persistently violated with the connivance of the colonial authorities.

140. Did England make no effort to enforce these acts?



She made many such efforts, which the colonists resented as an encroachment on their liberties. The governors made themselves very unpopular by trying to enforce the law, and colonial judges found themselves likewise unable to please both the king and the colonists. It was one of the complaints of the declaration of rights that the judges, as well as the governors, were paid by the imperial government and not as formerly by the colonists; yet this change was made at the request of the judges, to free them from financial dependence on the law-breaking communities with whom they had to deal.

141. What were writs of assistance?

They were writs that the colonial courts were authorized to issue to empower any king's officer to search for and seize any goods thought to have been smuggled. They were undoubtedly made the instruments of tyranny, besides being in themselves a violation of the principle that "a man's house is his castle," which it were an act of war to invade. In Massachusetts Bay these writs were denounced as unconstitutional, but the colonists generally accepted them as merely unjust.

142. What was the stamp act?

The first of the taxation measures which provoked a denial of the authority of the parliament. It was proposed in 1764, and passed in the following year in spite of the remonstrances of the colonists. Briefly, it levied a stamp tax on all legal documents and on periodicals, pamphlets, etc. The revenue stamps ranged in value from  $\frac{1}{2}$  penny to £6.

143. How did the Americans meet this attempt to tax them?

Collectively they had protested through their colonial assemblies, and through a congress of delegates representing nine colonies, that met at New York, Oct. 7, 1764. Finding these protests unavailing, many of the colonists determined to resort to mob violence. Organized under the name of Sons of Liberty, they seized, destroyed, or concealed all the stamps they could lay their hands on, and by threats prevented the king's officers from offering any stamps for sale. They even, in their town meetings, voted to fine any one who should use any of the obnoxious stamps. A general agreement to neither use nor import English goods was advocated, and this was so far carried into effect that British manufacturers petitioned parliament to repeal the stamp act.

144. Was the act repealed?

Yes; the act was repealed in 1766, but with the proviso that parliament still claimed the right to impose taxes.

145. When was the next attempt to exercise this right?

In 1767 the parliament imposed customs duties on tea, glass and paint imported into the colonies.

146. How did this differ from the previous act imposing a stamp tax?

The Americans had already submitted to import duties, and many of them had admitted the right of parliament to levy such taxes. The tax was not a compulsory one, and had the Americans been law-abiding would have made no trouble, as those who did not wish to pay the tax were not obliged to buy the tea.

147. Wherein did the calculations of the British ministry fail?

The opponents of taxation were not only unwilling to pay the tax, but they were determined that the tax should not be paid. Having defeated the stamp tax they sought, in like manner, to defeat this later imposition. The rebellious Sons of Liberty everywhere interfered to prevent the landing of the taxed commodities, or their exposure for sale where landing had been effected. As a result, though the tax was continued for three years, it produced little revenue. Parliament then amended the act to remove the duties on paint and glass and lower that on tea, and mercantile arrangements were made to lower the cost of the tea so that the tax might not be felt.

148. Were the colonists conciliated by this?

The colonists had by this time become so hostile to British rule that they would accept no concessions. The burden of submission to the government of England had been aggravated by the mutiny act and other acts for the better enforcement of the revenue laws, but more especially by the continual collision between the king's officers and the recalcitrant Americans.

149. Specify some of these causes of strife.

Under the mutiny act soldiers had been sent to the colonies with orders for their support, but the New York assembly refused to furnish supplies and was accordingly deprived of its legislative power until it should make the appropriation. Revenue commissioners were established in America, and increased powers were given to the courts and officers to enforce the acts of trade. The Sons of Liberty raised mobs, interfered with and insulted the king's officers, and in one case, in Boston, March 5, 1770, so provoked the king's troops that they fired on the people, killing three and wounding many.

150. How did the colonists like that?

It made them very angry and they had the soldiers tried for murder. They called it the "Boston massacre," and made political capital of it, but at the trial all the soldiers but two were acquitted as having acted in self-defense, and the two convicted were found guilty of manslaughter only, and lightly punished.

151. What was the affair of the Gaspee?

The burning of a king's vessel engaged in collecting the revenues by anti-tariff men from Providence, Rhode Island. The offenders escaped detection, but parliament revived an old law and ordered that they or others accused of firing his majesty's ships, magazines or docks, in America, should be transported to England for trial.

152. What was the "Boston Tea Party?"

The malcontents of Boston, having grown bolder through popular encouragement, projected an attack on the East India Company's tea, which was lying in ships in Boston harbor, waiting till the colonists would allow it to be landed. Dec. 16, 1773, a mob, disguised as Indians, boarded the ships and threw some 340 chests of tea overboard.

153. What action did parliament take to punish this destruction of private property?

It closed the port of Boston, forbidding vessels leaving or entering the harbor. It also annulled the charter of the colony, placing its government in the hands of the king's appointed officers. Gen. Gage, the commander of the British troops in Boston, was made the governor of the colony.

154. What other hostile acts were passed at this session?

An act authorizing the transportation to England, for trial, of Americans who should commit murder in resisting the laws. Also another act making the country north of the Ohio river, and between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, part of the province of Quebec, and establishing a system of government there quite different from that in the other colonies.

155. Why was this last named act considered hostile?

The colonists resented it because they claimed the Ohio territory as their own, and because the Quebec government established the Roman Catholic Church (to which 95 per cent. of the Canadians belonged), instead of some one of the Protestant sects favored in the other colonies. Also because the government was "a tyranny," and therefore different from the

colonial governments. The existence of this province was declared to be ("from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law and government"), dangerous to the neighboring colonies "by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France."

156. What concerted action did the colonists take in view of these acts of parliament?

An assembly of delegates from all the colonies—except Quebec and Georgia—met at Philadelphia in September, 1774. This was the first continental congress. It prepared the declaration of rights, appealed to the king and the British people against parliament, and voted to suspend all trade with England till justice should be done to the colonies. Another congress was called to meet the following year.

157. What brought on the war?

The seizure and destruction of, by the orders of Gen. Gage, governor of Massachusetts, certain military stores, collected by the Patriots at Concord, Mass. This was done April 19, 1775. Resistance was shown first at Lexington, where the assembled Patriots were attacked and dispersed by the British troops, and afterward at Concord where a similar victory was easily gained and the stores destroyed. On the return march to Boston, however, the British were continually assailed by bands of Patriots posted in ambush beside the roads. So fierce was the fire poured upon the redcoats, that the retreat became a rout in spite of reinforcements sent out to succor them.

158. What was the loss on both sides in this action?

The British lost 273 in killed, wounded and missing; the colonists 88 all told.

159. What happened next?

Preparation for war was made in all the colonies. The second continental congress met May 10 and assumed the general government of the colonies. Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the American forces, and other veterans of the French and Indian wars were given subordinate commands.

160. What was the first aggressive act of the colonists?

Considering the act of the Massachusetts men at Concord and Lexington to be merely self-defense, the first attack on the enemy was the seizure of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, May 10, by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold at the head of a few volunteers from Vermont and Connecticut. No fighting was necessary, the enemy being surprised.

161. What were the other New England Patriots doing at this time?

Collecting their forces around Boston and virtually besieging the city. Gen. Gage had about 10,000 British troops in Boston, and the colonial forces surrounding numbered perhaps 20,000.

162. What was the battle of Bunker's Hill?

The driving of some 1,500 colonial troops from temporary entrenchments on a hill overlooking Boston by a force of 3,000 British regulars.

163. State the loss on both sides.

The Americans lost 449; the British, 1,054; the loss in both cases being about one-third of the men engaged.

164. Since the Americans lost the battle why is it celebrated?

The firmness with which the raw American troops met the attack of twice their number of British regulars, was a great encouragement to the colonial leaders, so that in its effect on the cause the defeat was equivalent to a victory.

165. Who was the commander of the American troops at Bunker Hill?

There seems to have been no commander-in-chief. Gens. Putnam and Warren, and Col. Prescott, commanded different detachments, each co-operating with the others and none claiming precedence.

166. Under what flag did the colonists fight?

There is no record of any flag at Bunker Hill.\* The first authorized flag was unfurled Jan. 1, 1776, at Cambridge, Mass. It had stripes, as at present, with a double cross in the place now occupied by stars.

167. When did Washington take command of the colonial army, and what did he do with it?

He took command July 3, 1775, and spent the summer organizing and drilling it. It was not until the following spring that he made any attempt to drive the British from Boston.

168. Did the British fight?

No; finding their position untenable the British evacuated the city. The fleet sailed for Halifax, carrying, beside the

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\*There is a tradition that a red flag, with a pine tree on a white field in the corner, was hoisted at Bunker Hill, but this seems to have been an unauthorized standard.



British, about 1,000 American Tories who abandoned their homes, fearing to face their fellow colonists.

169. What were the other colonies doing all this time?

Preparing for war. The Sons of Liberty in all the colonies had seized the governments, and reorganized them on a patriotic basis, and the colonial assemblies co-operated with congress in providing military supplies. Volunteer bands were enlisted, but only for short terms of service, as the people refused to believe that the war would be prolonged.

170. Except in Massachusetts, was there any fighting in 1775?

Not in the united colonies; but an expedition sent by the American congress against the Canadas, captured Montreal and made a fruitless effort to capture Quebec.

171. Give the history of this expedition.

One force was despatched under Gen. Montgomery by way of Lake Champlain to Montreal which was captured Nov. 13, 1775. Another force led by Benedict Arnold sailed from Boston to the mouth of the Kennebec, passed up that river and down the Chaudiere to Quebec, reaching that city some time in November. Finding the enemy too strong for him, Arnold waited for Montgomery to come from Montreal. Dec. 30, the attack was finally made by the combined forces, but by that time the British had likewise been reinforced, and the Americans were repulsed. Montgomery was killed, and as the small pox broke out in the American camp, Arnold and Schuyler (who had succeeded Montgomery), led their disheartened troops home without making any further effort even to hold what they had gained.

172. What was England doing?

Parliament and king were making great preparation to subdue the colonies. Parliament voted to send over 25,000 British and 17,000 Hessian troops; to forbid all trade with the colonies, and to declare all colonial ships lawful prize to any privateer. No further military attack was made on the colonies in this year, however, and the British fleet did little beyond levying contributions on the New England coast towns and bombarding those who refused to contribute.

173. When and where was the next attack made on the colonies?

June 28, 1775, at Charleston, S. C. The city was defended by a fort of palmetto logs, garrisoned by Carolinian volunteers under Col. Moultrie. After a hard day's battle the British



fleet was beaten off, and an attempt to land troops in the neighborhood was likewise defeated.

174. Under what flag did the Carolinians fight?

Not the union flag used by Washington, but a colonial banner, blue, with a crescent in the corner inscribed with the word "Liberty." (This was the flag hoisted by the heroic Sergeant Jasper after it had been shot away.)

175. Where did the British fleet go after its failure to reduce Charleston?

It returned to New York, where it landed Sir Henry Clinton and his army. Clinton joined forces with Howe, who, coming from Halifax, had landed on Staten Island late in June.

176. Meanwhile, what had congress done?

At Philadelphia, July 4, the congress had declared the colonies free and independent states absolved from their allegiance to the king of England.

177. Was the declaration unexpected?

No; for though the colonists had at first hoped for a satisfactory adjustment of affairs with England, they had, for nearly a year, faced the probability of a war which could only lead to independence or to complete subjugation. The declaration was but a logical conclusion from the position the colonies had taken with regard to their constitutional rights.

178. Did the declaration prove that the colonists had been insincere in their professions of loyalty to the king?

It is customary to profess loyalty to the sovereign, even when disapproving of his acts, on the theory that his advisers are responsible for his errors. The colonists honored the king as one in authority, but they claimed the right (exercised by the British parliament) to set bounds to the king's authority, or even to nullify it in the interest of the commonwealth.

179. Was the declaration drawn against the king or the parliament?

Against the king; for the colonists denied that the parliament had ever had authority in America, and in the declaration they censure the king for "combining with others" to subject them to parliamentary rule, by giving his assent to certain specified "acts of pretended legislation."

180. Had the declaration been long under debate?

The first resolution affirming independence was offered in the congress June 7, 1776, by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and was seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts. The

question had before this been often debated outside of congress, and there was a strong public sentiment in favor of such a declaration.

181. Under what circumstances was the measure adopted?

The Lee resolutions were passed July 2, and a committee was appointed to draw up a formal declaration which was duly endorsed by a vote of the house, July 4.

182. How was the measure received by the public?

With some degree of enthusiasm, as the colonists were generally convinced that it was advisable. There is a tendency, however, to exaggerate in the accounts of popular excitement over the matter. (Even the story of the ringing of "Liberty Bell" is now declared to be without foundation in fact.\*)

183. What was the next battle with the British?

The battle of Long Island, wherein about 8,000 Americans, posted near Brooklyn, were attacked and routed by 15,000 British under Gen. Howe. The British lost 400, the Americans over 2,000, of whom 1,000 were taken prisoners. Some 3,000 Americans were hemmed in at Brooklyn, where they would have been forced to surrender had Washington not come to their rescue, and under cover of darkness and fog transported them to the New York shore.

184. Did Gen. Howe pursue them?

He did, leisurely. Washington was forced to retreat to White Plains, and afterward to North Castle Heights. Howe pursued him and several skirmishes were fought, after which the British returned to New York, capturing Ft. Washington, garrisoned with 3,000 American troops, on the way.

185. What did Washington do next?

Crossed into New Jersey with 5,000 men. Here he was again pursued by British troops under Cornwallis, and for nearly a month the American army retreated constantly, and

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\*The local antiquarians of Philadelphia bid us dismiss forever from the record the picturesque old bell-ringer and his eager boy waiting breathlessly to announce to the assembled thousands the final vote of congress on the declaration. The tale is declared to be a pure fiction, of which there exists not even a local tradition. The sessions of congress were then secret, and there was no expectant crowd outside. It was not till the 5th of July that congress sent out circulars announcing the declaration; not till the 6th that it appeared in a Philadelphia newspaper, and not till the 8th that it was read by John Nixon in the yard of Independence Hall.—*Higginson*.

for a time every one believed that it would soon be dispersed or captured.

186. What force had Washington at this time?

Between 3,000 and 5,000 men.

187. Were these all the available troops?

Apparently so. There were enlisted or in service in the American army in 1776, 47,000 "continentals," and 27,000 militia, yet the terms of service were so short, the men so unwilling to bear the hardships and dangers of the winter campaign, that Washington was well-nigh deserted and could only summon, by way of reinforcement, the few thousand men he had left with Lee on the Hudson.

188. Did Lee march to his relief?

Yes; the troops came but Lee, himself, lingering at Baskingridge, was captured by the enemy.

189. What did Washington do in this emergency?

By a bold stroke he assailed and captured the Hessian force (about 1,000) at Trenton, Dec. 25, and Jan. 3, 1777, attacked and routed a larger force of the enemy at Princeton. The effect of these victories was to inspire the colonists with renewed hope in the ultimate success of their army.

190. What was the next move made?

Both armies went into winter quarters. Congress, which had adjourned to Baltimore, had, before leaving Philadelphia, voted to invest Washington with almost supreme powers, and these he used to organize a national army on a sound basis. The British in New York organized plundering raids into the surrounding country. In December, 1776, they captured Newport, R. I., which they held for three years; in April, 1777, they invaded Connecticut and burned the supplies at Danbury. In their retreat from this raid they were attacked by the colonists and suffered almost as severely as on the retreat from Concord the previous year.

191. What campaigns were fought in 1777?

The British planned two campaigns—one, a transfer of the seat of war from the Jerseys to Southern Pennsylvania, and the other an expedition from Canada down the Hudson river valley to New York.

192. How was the first plan carried out?

In July Gen. Howe withdrew his forces from New Jersey, and, leaving a strong garrison in New York, sailed for Ches-

peake Bay, taking with him about 18,000 men. Washington hastened to defend Philadelphia, but, being defeated at Brandywine river and at Germantown, withdrew to Valley Forge, leaving the British in possession of the chief city of the colonies.

193. What was the result of the invasion from Canada?

The invasion of New York from Canada, begun by Gen. Burgoyne some time in June, resulted disastrously for the British and ended with the surrender of Burgoyne and his army at Saratoga, Oct. 17.

194. What battles were fought in this campaign?

The noted battles are those of Oriskany, Aug. 6, Bennington, Aug. 16, and the battle of Saratoga, Oct. 7. The first battle was won by the British, under St. Leger, assisted by Indians and Tories, who thereupon laid siege to Ft. Schuyler but were soon driven back to the Canadian line by the Americans under Arnold. Burgoyne, who, with the main body of the army, was at this time near Saratoga, sent a force of 800 against Bennington, Vt., where the British were attacked and beaten by a brigade of state militia. In the battle of Saratoga, Burgoyne was worsted and forced to retreat and finally to surrender.

195. What effect did this victory have on the American cause?

It proved of great advantage, as it not only weakened the enemy but also encouraged the Americans and enabled them to obtain help from France.

196. What aid was obtained from France?

Feb. 6, 1778, France made a treaty of alliance with the United States and agreed to send a fleet of 16 vessels and an army of 4,000 men to assist them in their war with England.

197. What did England do then?

England declared war against France and invited the United States to help her, offering them all they had asked when the war began. The colonies, of course, declined.

198. What effect did the approach of French reinforcements have on the situation in America?

Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, in command in Philadelphia, set out for New York to unite the British forces before the French should arrive. Washington followed and an indecisive battle was fought June 28, at Monmouth, N. J. After the battle the British retired to New York city, and Washington took up his position in the Hudson river valley near Tarrytown.

199. What was the next move?

The British moved their forces to the southern states, retaining only New York and Newport, R. I., at the north. Dec. 29 the British captured Savannah, and the state of Georgia was soon overrun by them.

200. What other attacks were made on the Americans in 1778?

The massacre, July 4, of many settlers in the valley of Wyoming—now in the state of Pennsylvania but then considered a part of Connecticut—by a band of British and Mohawk Indians. Also a similar massacre in Cherry Valley, N. Y., Nov. 10.

201. How were these outrages punished?

In 1779 congress sent an army under Gen. Sullivan into the Indian country to kill, burn and destroy till the country became almost a desert, the remnant of the hostile tribes taking refuge in Canada.

202. What was done in 1779?

Very little in the way of warfare. The British in Georgia and New York city sent plundering expeditions against the colonists. July 15, Gen. Anthony Wayne captured the British stronghold of Stony Point on the Hudson river. In the following September the Americans under Gen. Lincoln attacked Savannah, but though they had the help of the French fleet they were repulsed. Guerrilla warfare continued throughout the year, but no campaigns were attempted.

203. What noted sea fight occurred in this year?

The battle between the British frigate *Serapis*, and the *Bonhomme Richard*, an American privateer commanded by Paul Jones. This occurred Sept. 23, 1779. (Naval warfare in the revolution was confined to piratical attacks on merchant vessels. The capture of the *Serapis* was the first fight between equals.)

204. What was done in 1780?

The British invaded South Carolina, capturing Charleston May 12, and overrunning the state in the course of the year. Gen. Gates was sent against them with a large force of militia and a few regular troops, but was defeated at the battle of Camden, Aug. 16. At King's Mountain, N. C., a raiding British force of 1,000 men was routed by the Americans, but in South Carolina they held undisputed sway.

205. Give an account of the treason of Arnold.

Benedict Arnold, a major-general in the American service, bargained with the British General Clinton to deliver up the



fortress of West Point, which he (Arnold) then commanded. The treason was discovered by the capture of Major John Andre, Clinton's messenger. Sept. 22 Andre was hanged as a spy, but Arnold escaped to the British camp where he was rewarded with a brigadier general's commission.

206. What was done in the Carolinas in 1781?

Gen. Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island, took command of the American forces late in 1780. On the 17th of the following January he, or rather his subordinate, Gen. Morgan, defeated the British cavalry raider, Tarleton, at the battle of the Cowpens, a pasture field near Spartanburgh, S. C. Greene joined Morgan, but both were obliged to fall back before Cornwallis. At Guilford Court House, N. C., in March, 1781, he gave battle to the British general, but was defeated by him and forced to retreat.

207. Where did Cornwallis go then?

Northward into Virginia, where Benedict Arnold, as a British general, was plundering and laying waste the country. The Marquis de Lafayette, in command of an American force, was watching Arnold but was too weak to attack him.

208. Who was left to command the British in the Carolinas?

Lord Rawdon. He proved to be no match for Greene, who, though defeated at Hobkirk's Hill and Eutaw Springs, fairly forced the enemy to take refuge in Charleston and kept him there till the end of the war.

209. How did Cornwallis succeed in Virginia?

He was practically unopposed in crossing the state. He fixed his head-quarters at Yorktown from which point he proposed to command the state.

210. Were his plans successful?

No; on the contrary, Lafayette reinforced from the French fleet, was able to keep the British in Yorktown until Washington could bring his army from New York and lay siege to the town. The British sent reinforcements to Cornwallis but the French fleet beat them off.

211. What was the result?

Cornwallis was obliged to surrender his whole army, which he did Oct. 19, 1781.

212. What effect did this have in England?

The news of the surrender at Yorktown caused the resignation of the English ministry and the new ministry was ready



to make peace. An armistice was declared and commissioners appointed to negotiate a treaty.

213. When was peace made?

Peace was secured by a treaty signed Sept. 3, 1783. The British evacuated Savannah in July, 1782, Charleston in the following December, and New York, November 25, 1783.

214. How many men had the British in the revolutionary war?

Great Britain sent over, at different times, forces aggregating over 130,000 men. Of these some 22,000 were seamen. Yet Johnston computes that the British never had in active service in America, at any one time, more than 40,000 men.

215. How many Germans fought against us?

The German States of Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Hanan, Waldeck, Anspach, and Anhalt-Zerbst, furnished in all 29,166 men, of whom 17,313 returned. Of the missing 11,853, many had been killed, of course, but many also are known to have deserted to settle in America.

216. What was the military force of the Americans?

The states claimed to have furnished 231,791 men, but this includes the militia and volunteers for a short term. Johnston computes that 40,000 would be a large estimate of the strength of the regular army at any one time, not counting the minute men or militia.

217. What help did America receive from France, under the treaty of alliance?

France furnished money and supplies, and sent over some 15,000 soldiers. She also sent a fleet to attack that of Great Britain on the American coasts. But though the French fleet drove the British from Newport, R. I., and a French army reinforced Washington in the Hudson Valley, their first great and indispensable service was rendered at the siege of Yorktown. Indirectly, of course, the alliance was most beneficial to the American cause.

218. How much did the war cost the combatants?

The cost to the Americans has been computed at something over \$135,000,000. The cost to Great Britain is not stated, but we know that it was very great. Her national debt was increased during this period by over \$610,000,000.

219. How much was paid to Washington for his services in the revolutionary war?

Washington refused a salary, and asked only for the repayment of his expenses, which amounted, according to his reckoning, to \$64,315.

220. How were the soldiers in the revolutionary war paid?

The continental soldiers were paid by congress, so far as that body could raise money to pay them. Having no revenue but that supplied by the states, congress resorted to all sorts of devices to borrow the money necessary to carry on the war. Paper money was issued until it became almost worthless; lottery loans were authorized; subsidies were begged from France, and bonds issued on the joint guarantees of all the states. For all that, the soldiers were ill-paid, and were often driven to mutiny by the delay in paying them.

221. What special remuneration was promised to the officers?

By the advice of Washington, congress promised the officers who served through the war, half pay for life. After the war was over, the promise of half pay was commuted to an advance payment (in 6 per cent. certificates) equal to five years' full pay in the case of each veteran officer.

222. Did America exert her full strength during the revolutionary war?

She did not. Comparing the revolutionary war with the civil war of 1861-5, we find that in the percentage of the population sent into the field, and in the percentage of wealth placed at the service of the government, the revolutionists were very deficient.\*

223. Were they deficient in patriotism?

Not necessarily. They lacked especially political training and political organization. Had the government been as well organized as it was in 1861, and the people as well trained to obedience to, and reliance upon, the civil authority, the war might have been ended in 1778.

224. How did the Americans set to work to govern themselves?

Even before the declaration of independence some of the colonies had remodeled their government to exclude the king's authority. Thus the house of representatives would select a council to take the place of the one previously appointed by

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\*Fisk computes that in the revolutionary war not more than 9 per cent. of the men were under arms at any one time, while in the late civil war the northern army reached a percentage of at least 20 in every 100 adult males.

the king, and the two houses in joint assembly would select a president or governor. This organization, however, was merely temporary. In 1778-80, new constitutions were adopted by the several states, which thereby became free and independent commonwealths, accepting as a bond of union the authority of congress.

225. What authority was conceded to congress?

The powers conceded to congress were almost precisely those the colonies had offered to concede to their king. The power to appoint the governors of the colonies was, of course, withdrawn, as it would eventually have been denied to the king, but for the rest, congress possessed the sovereign dignity of the United States, with power to recommend, but no power to legislate, and with power to negotiate treaties, declare peace or war, but no more executive power than pertains to the British sovereign to-day.

226. How was this idea of a union formulated?

In the articles of confederation drawn up by the congress in 1777, and finally established by the consent of the states in 1781.

227. What were the main points in the articles of confederation?

Congress was to consist of one house of delegates from the several states, each state sending not less than two or more than seven delegates, and each delegation having an equal voice in the decision of any question. To congress was entrusted the diplomatic relations of the union with foreign countries, the common defense in war times, the regulation of the coinage, postoffice, etc., in accordance with the general welfare, and the power to decide finally all disputes between states. The expenses of the federal government were to be assessed upon and paid by the state governments, which were also to remunerate their members of congress. No provision was made for any president or chief magistrate of any kind, and there was to be no national judiciary.

228. What was the most commendable provision of this agreement?

The provision that the citizens of any state should be entitled to the privileges and immunities of citizens in all other states. This was the first step toward nationality.

229. Was the confederation a tolerable form of government?

So far as it affected the people, yes. Yet it is doubtful whether the union under it could have long existed. This

union simply enabled the states to shirk duties and responsibilities, so that the confederation provoked strife rather than allayed it. Standing alone, the states would have been obliged to make their own treaties and abide by them, or if they chose to repudiate any obligation, they would have to do so at their own proper peril. Moreover, each state would be responsible for its financial obligations, and for those of no other state.

230. What treaty provisions were the states inclined to repudiate?

Those of the treaty of peace with England, relating to the payment of debts due to Englishmen and the treatment of the American tories. England had asked that Americans pay their honest debts contracted before the war, and that those Americans who had remained loyal to the king should be allowed to reside in the union and receive the protection of the civil authority. The faith of congress was pledged to carry out these provisions of the treaty, but the states refused to enforce them.

231. Were not the debts paid?

No; Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina all enacted laws obstructing the payment of the debts to British creditors, presenting as counter claims a demand for the value of negro slaves, who were said to have escaped during the British invasion.

232. How were the tories treated?

Considering the slight claims the colonial governments had ever had to their allegiance, the tories were very harshly treated for having preferred to remain loyal to the king. Not only did they suffer social ostracism and mob violence, from which the authorities would not protect them—but the state legislatures made laws against them. As a result, nearly 100,000 persons were driven from the country.

233. What did England do about it?

Many of the refugees applied to her for relief, which she generously afforded, distributing some \$16,000,000 among 4,000 destitute persons, and aiding many others with grants of Canadian land, military and civil appointments or special annuities.

234. Did she make any effort to punish the Americans for their breach of faith?

She was not ready to begin war again, though she might

have intimidated the states had she been able to deal with them singly. She refused, however, to evacuate the forts north of the Ohio river, and held that country twelve years by way of indemnity.

235. What can you say of the state constitutions first adopted?

They form the bases of the constitutions as they exist today. Generally speaking, they provided for an assembly of two houses elected by the people; a chief magistrate or governor and a system of state courts. In detail they differed not a little from each other and from the organic law of the states of today.

236. Note the peculiarities with regard to the state legislatures.

They consisted of two houses, a lower house styled the house of burgesses, the commons or the assembly, and an upper house called the council, or in one state (Virginia) the senate. The members of the lower house were elected directly by the people in all the states, but those of the senate or council were in Maryland chosen by electors specially elected for that purpose, and in several other states were voted for at a special election at which a property qualification was demanded of the voter. Except in Pennsylvania, members of both houses were required to be men of property.

237. How were the chief magistrates elected?

In New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and Delaware, the executive authority was exercised by a committee or council, the president of which was also president of the state, there being no regular governor. In the other states (except in New York, where the governor was elected by the people), the governors were chosen by the legislature, and were required to possess considerable property, in order that they might live as became their office.

238. What degree of power was vested in these governors?

A very slight degree, as the people, from their experience with their colonial governors, had learned to distrust a powerful executive. In Massachusetts alone was the governor allowed a veto, and only in Massachusetts, New York and Maryland did the governors possess any power of appointment, even subject to the approval of the senate. Even in ministerial duties the governor was, except in New York, forced to act through a cabinet appointed by the legislature.

239. What of the state judiciary?



The states generally retained their old courts, subject to amended regulations. The judges were in some cases elected by the people and in others appointed by the legislature. In Georgia, the county judges were elected annually; in New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, they were appointed for a term of seven years, and in the other states they held office during good behavior.

240. Except in the appointment of judges, was the judiciary independent of, and distinct from, the other branches of government?

In most of the states, yes. New York, however, followed the constitution of England in making its senate the supreme court of errors, and in New Jersey the governor and council constituted the court of appeals, as had been the case in all the colonies previous to the revolution.

241. How were the delegates to the continental congress selected?

By the constitution of Georgia and the second constitution of New Hampshire (adopted 1783), these delegates were elected by the people. In all other states they were appointed by the legislature.

242. Who possessed the franchise in the states?

Adult male citizens who possessed the state property or taxpaying qualifications.\* The demands of the law in this regard varied in the different states, but were not onerous except in Virginia and in the senatorial elections in some states.

243. Were other qualifications demanded?

Not from voters, but some of the states retained religious qualifications for officeholders, discriminating especially against Roman Catholics. (These were finally abolished by the adoption of the federal constitution.)

### CHAPTER III.—THE FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

244. How long did the confederation last?

From the date of its adoption in 1781 to the establishment of the union under the constitution in 1788.

245. What led to the remodeling of the union?

Dissatisfaction with the articles of confederation and inabil-

\* The constitution of New Jersey, adopted in 1776, conferred the right of suffrage on all possessing certain property qualifications, irrespective of sex, but this was repealed in 1807.



ity to agree on the amendment of the same. From the close of the war in 1783—if not from an earlier date—to the calling of the federal convention in 1787, the amendment of the articles of confederation had been debated in public and in private without the formation of a party for any rational plan of improvement. There had grown up, however, a Federal party—a party in favor of a single government for the entire union, in place of the existing league of independent sovereignties. The constitution, as finally adopted, was to some extent a compromise, but it was none the less a triumph for the Federalists.

246. When and by whom was the United States constitution framed?

In 1787, by a convention of commissioners from all the states except Rhode Island, that met and organized at Philadelphia May 25, and continued in session until Sept. 17 of the same year.

247. Why did the convention propose a radical change in the form of government?

There was great opposition to attempting anything further than the revision and amendment of the articles of confederation. Many contended that the convention was not authorized to frame a new constitution. But the feeling in favor of “a more perfect union” was strong, and the convention resolved to formulate a new scheme of government and submit it to the people for ratification.

248. Was it justified in doing so?

Theoretically it was bound to confine its action to the purposes for which it was called together. In so far as it saw fit to overstep its authority, it could be justified only by popular approval. That approval was granted when the people ratified the constitution.

249. Why was a national government demanded?

In order to give credit to the union abroad and to secure more efficient administration of affairs at home. The articles of confederation had operated according to the original intention, but the freedom of the states did not compensate them for their lack of unity of action. Moreover, local disturbances, like Shays's rebellion in Massachusetts, could best be dealt with, it was thought, by a federal authority.

250. What was “Shays' rebellion?”

In the winter of 1786-87, there was an insurrection of the poorer farmers in Western Massachusetts under the leadership

of Daniel Shays. The insurgents demanded a release from old debts, or, at least, a stay law to prevent the collection of such debts by the courts. Owing to popular sympathy with the insurgents, the state authority had considerable difficulty in suppressing them.

251. Was there also need of a national government as an arbiter between the states?

Yes. Disputes had already risen, some on account of commercial jealousy and consequent discrimination, and some from conflicting territorial claims. New York especially was at odds with the neighboring colonies of Connecticut and New Jersey, whose productions she excluded by a high tariff. As to territorial disputes, those of the west were to be settled by a general cession to the federal government; but there remained special cases like the claim of Connecticut to her colony in the Wyoming valley, which could not be settled in that way.

252. How was the dispute settled?

A special federal commission, appointed by the confederation, awarded the territory to Pennsylvania. This should not have affected the title of the colonists to their lands, but the Pennsylvanians chose to consider them interlopers, and in many ways tried to force them to return to Connecticut. Aid was refused to the colony when inundated by an extraordinary rise in the river. A force of militia, sent ostensibly to preserve order, burned hundreds of habitations to induce the people to migrate. Finally, when the colonists took up arms in defense of their rights many were arrested and sent to jail.

253. What was the conclusion of the matter?

It nearly led to strife between Connecticut and Pennsylvania, but the better nature of the Pennsylvanians was awakened, and the state government was obliged to promise the Wyoming colonists protection from their enemies and reparation for their wrongs.

254. To what peculiar feature in the state government was this settlement due?

The Pennsylvanian government then contained a chamber of censors—like that nominally existing in Bolivia, or like the *Tu-chah-yuen* of China. The principal duty of this chamber was a periodical inquiry into, and report upon, the conduct of the government. In this report the treatment of the Wyoming settlers was severely condemned and public opinion enlisted in their favor.

255. In devising a more perfect union for the American states, what kind of government was proposed?

A true federation, establishing a duplex authority over the individual citizen, so that the enforcement of the federal laws should not depend on the action or non-action of the state authorities.

256. To what was the adoption of this form due?

As it happened, to the absence from the constitutional convention of Rhode Island and New Hampshire. The states, voting as units, stood six in favor of a federation to five for an improved confederacy. The six were all large states—Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, the two Carolinas, and Georgia. The minor states, fearing loss of power in the federation, voted against it, and had the two absent states been represented, would have defeated it.

257. Into how many departments was the proposed government to be divided?

Three; the legislative, the executive and the judicial.

258. How is the legislative branch formed?

According to the constitution the federal congress consists of two houses, one elected by the people and the other chosen by the states. This arrangement was arrived at after long debate and the consideration of various claims. The object of the convention was to satisfy the large states by giving them representation according to population, and the small states by granting them equality. As there was a general prejudice in favor of two houses, it was easy to gratify both claimants by incorporating the equality principle in the senate, and the pro rata principle in the house.

259. But this does not account for the difference in the method of election.

No; there were some who wished to have the senators chosen by popular vote, even as there were some who wished to make the election of representatives indirect. As it happened, each of the proposed methods of election was given a trial, the house being elected in one way, the senate in another, and the president in still another.\*

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\*In fact, the ordinary methods of election were exhausted with the exception of the general ticket plan, that is now used in the choice of presidential electors. The states were used to the unit rule, but they do not seem to have considered the plan of electing the state's quota of representatives by scrutin de liste.

260. In whom was the executive power of the federal government vested?

In a single chief magistrate or president, chosen for a fixed term by the people of the states in indirect election.

261. Was the convention unanimous in setting up this kind of an executive?

No; there was a general agreement that an executive officer was necessary and the states had each a single governor. It was strange, therefore, that there should be (as there was) strong objection to a single chief magistrate, as too closely resembling a monarchy. A triumvirate—three executives, representing three different parts of the union, was the alternative proposal, and it was only after three days' earnest debate that the question was settled by a vote of seven to three in favor of a single chief magistrate.

262. How about the election of the chief magistrate?

It was first decided that the president should be chosen by the congress for the term of seven years, and that he was to be ineligible for re-election. The change to the choice by electors for a four years' term was made in the committee entrusted with the drafting of the constitution.

263. What of the judicial branch of the government?

A federal supreme court was provided for and the creation of lower federal courts was left to congress. The judiciary of the states was naturally the model of the federal judiciary, and the matter was settled with little debate.

264. How was the new constitution ratified?

By state conventions of delegates chosen by the people for that purpose. The people, therefore, practically voted upon the question of accepting or rejecting the new federal organic law.

265. Did the confederation exist until the constitution was adopted?

Not entirely; the confederation was dissolved by common consent before the union was established. The form of government remained until superseded, but the articles of confederation were ignored.

266. How did this appear in the adoption of the constitution?

By the articles of confederation, any alteration therein could be made only with the consent of all the states. The constitution declared the union established whenever nine of the states had assented to it. This would imply—on the theory

that the confederation still existed—that the nine ratifying states had first seceded from the confederation, an offense with which they were never charged.

267. How was the constitution received by the nation?

It was favorably received by the congress, to which it was first submitted, and by which it was transmitted to the states. In the popular vote, there appeared strong opposition to the proposed federal government, but the political leaders of the people were generally in favor of it, and within a year eleven states signified their acceptance of the constitution.

268. When, and in what order, did the ratifications occur?

In 1787—Dec. 7, Delaware; Dec. 12, Pennsylvania; Dec. 18, New Jersey. In 1788—Jan. 2, Georgia; Jan. 9, Connecticut; Feb. 6, Massachusetts; April 28, Maryland; May 23, South Carolina; June 21, New Hampshire; June 26, Virginia; July 26, New York.

269. What two states withheld their ratifications till the union was actually organized?

North Carolina and Rhode Island; these states adopted the constitution Nov. 21, 1789, and May 29, 1790, respectively.

270. Was the constitution, as first adopted, complete and satisfactory?

No; the first congress that met under the constitution proposed twelve amendments to it, and ten of these amendments were ratified by the states.

271. What deficiency was supplied by these amendments?

The lack of a bill of rights, which was desired to prevent tyranny on the part of congress. This lack had been urged as an argument against the adoption of the constitution. (The first eight amendments, it will be seen, guard the individual rights of the citizen; the ninth and tenth place a check on the power of congress.)

272. What time was set for organizing under the new constitution?

As soon as the ratifications of nine states were certified to the continental congress, that body passed a resolution appointing the first Wednesday of January, 1789, for the choice of presidential electors; the first Wednesday of February for the election of president and vice-president, and the first Wednesday of March (the 4th of that month) as the time, and New York—"the present seat of congress"—as the place, for the organization of the new government.



273. Was this programme carried out?

No; the ratifying states—with the exception of New York—appointed electors, by whom Gen. Washington was duly selected for the presidency, but owing to delay in the congressional elections and to difficulty in traveling, the new government could not be organized March 4. Congress did not organize, from lack of quorum, till March 30, and the electoral vote was not counted till April 6. Then came another delay to await the arrival of the president elect, so that the inauguration was not reached until April 30.

274. What became of the continental congress?

It seems to have dispersed without even the formality of adjournment. As soon as the adoption of the constitution became certain, the members of the old congress began to desert it, and though a few attended for some time, no action was possible from lack of a quorum.

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#### CHAPTER IV.—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNION.

275. Who was the first president of the United States, and how was he elected?

George Washington. He was elected Feb. 4, 1789, receiving sixty-nine electoral votes, that being the whole number of electors voting. (In accordance with the constitution at that time, each elector voted by ballot for two candidates for the presidency, and Washington was the first or second choice in each case.)

276. Which states did not join in this election?

Rhode Island and North Carolina, which were not in the union, and New York, which had failed to appoint electors, owing to a disagreement between the two houses of her assembly as to the method of selection.

277. How were the electors generally appointed?

The constitution left the method to the discretion of the state, and in most cases the appointments were made by the legislature. In Virginia, the electors were chosen in districts by the popular vote. In Massachusetts, the people of each congressional district chose three candidates, from whom the legislature selected one.

278. In case of choice by the legislature what dispute arose?

In the absence of laws or fixed rules, it was doubtful whether electors and senators should be elected by the houses in joint



assembly, or by the same voting separately. This question was settled in one way or the other, in all states but New York. There the federal senate insisted on its concurrent right and refused to join with the anti-federal house, and as a consequence neither electors nor senators were chosen. The question was also raised whether the governor had not a voice in the election, but this was soon settled in the negative.

279. Who was the first vice-president of the union and how was he elected?

John Adams; he received thirty-four electoral votes for president, the vote standing next to that for Washington, though only a plurality and not a majority of the votes cast. As the constitution then stood, he was elected.

280. Who formed the cabinet of the new administration?

Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state; Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury; Henry Knox, secretary of war; and Edmund Randolph, attorney general.

281. How were the houses of congress organized?

Each house was empowered to organize itself and decide upon its own rules of action. In the senate, where the vice-president was, *ex officio*, the presiding officer, the committees were chosen by ballot. In the house, Frederic A. Muhlenberg was made speaker and authorized to appoint committees of three members or less, the larger committees being selected by ballot. (Afterward this restriction was removed and all committees—unless specially ordered—appointed by the speaker.)

282. Were the committees then as important as they now are?

No; there was but one permanent committee—that on election—for several sessions, and for many years there were but four or five.

283. How was the judiciary department provided for?

In accordance with the constitution, a bill was passed, creating a supreme court of one chief justice and five associate justices, and these offices were filled by the president with the approval of the senate. (John Jay was the first chief justice.) District and circuit courts were also provided, each state forming a district, and three states grouped together forming a circuit.

284. What business first claimed the attention of the government?

The raising of revenue for the federal treasury, the provision for the debts of the nation and the several states, the improvement of our relations with other countries, and the organization and government of the federal territories.

285. How was revenue raised?

By the imposition of a tariff on imports and the laying of a tax on spirits. There were other taxes, but in them the revenue was merely incidental.

286. What principle was established in these first revenue acts?

The principle of protection to American industries, to which the question of raising revenue was made to yield.

287. How was the currency of the country provided for?

A mint was established at Philadelphia in 1791, for the production of the coins authorized by the continental congress, and the same year a bank of the United States was also chartered. (There were already three state banks at Philadelphia, New York and Boston.)

288. What coinage act had been passed by the previous congress?

Aug. 6, 1786, an act was passed providing for a national currency, of which the dollar was the unit. With the Spanish dollar the American people were acquainted, and the decimal system made it easy for them to trade in the smaller coins.

289. What provision was made for the debts of the nation and the states?

At the beginning of the session of 1790, the secretary of the treasury offered a plan for the assumption of the war debt of the states, and the funding of the entire national debt. There was a national debt to foreign countries of nearly twelve millions, a national debt to Americans of some forty-three millions, beside the state debts, estimated in the aggregate at twenty-one millions.

290. How was this bill received by the congress?

At first it met with violent opposition, and was rejected, but it was brought forward again and finally passed as the result of a bargain between Hamilton and Morris on the one side and the Virginian members on the other. In accordance with this agreement, the assumption bill passed by a vote of 32 to 29, after a bill to remove the national capital had been forced through by the narrow majority of three.

291. Whither was the capital to be removed?

To Philadelphia for ten years, and after that to be fixed permanently at a town specially laid out for it on the Potomac river. In accordance with this plan, the city of Washington was founded.

292. What was the result of the funding of the debt?

The debt increased for a few years, till in 1804 it amounted to over eighty-six millions. After that it was gradually reduced by payment and finally discharged in 1835.

293. What was the nature of the external relations of the union under the new government?

Commercial treaties were negotiated with the countries of Europe, excepting England, for the benefit of our foreign trade. A treaty was made with Morocco, in the hope of protecting American merchant vessels from the piratical cruisers of the North African states. Of more general interest were the negotiations with England concerning the northern boundary, those with Spain concerning the Florida boundary and the navigation of the Mississippi, and those with the various tribes of Indians inhabiting the western territories.

294. What was the northern boundary dispute with England?

In retaliation for the action of the states in obstructing the collection of debts to British subjects, England kept possession of her posts in the northwestern territory until 1796. The garrisons at these posts encouraged the Indian tribes in their resistance to the settlement of the northwest, and assured them of England's protection and assistance. The removal of the British garrisons from these posts was greatly desired by the Americans, as the first step towards perfecting their title to the country.

295. What was the purpose of the negotiations with Spain?

The delimitation of the boundary between Florida and the United States, and the opening of the Mississippi river to navigation. Spain then held the province of Louisiana, covering both sides of the Mississippi river at its mouth, and her laws forbade the navigation of that stream by the vessels of foreigners. She was also suspected of plotting to detach the Mississippi territories from the union, with a view to forming them into a separate state under the protection of Spain.

296. What were the relations of the Union with the Indian tribes of the west?

The Indian tribes of the territories being large and power-

ful, and in immediate contact with the settlers, peace and friendship with them was of the highest importance. Treaties were negotiated with the Six Nations at Ft. Stanwix in 1784, with the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas and Ottawas at Ft. Mc. Intosh in 1785 and with the Cherokees at Hopewell in the same year. The two first named treaties were confirmed the year following at Ft. Harmar, when the Indians were paid for the land ceded.

297. Were these treaties sufficient to maintain peace with the Indians?

No; there were minor tribes who had not joined in the treaties, and those of the treaty Indians who were nearest the settlements and exposed to the irritating encroachments of the pioneers, were soon ready for war again.

298. What was the condition of the northwest territories at the beginning of Washington's administration?

All the northwest territories had been ceded by the states to the union. The ordinance of 1787 had provided a territorial government for the country west of Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio. Slavery was to be forever forbidden in this territory, which was to be governed by federal appointees till the country was settled, and after that to be divided and given power of self-government. The country was being rapidly settled by pioneers from the east, especially from New England.

299. What was the condition of the southwest territory?

In the southwest settlement was much further advanced. The territory now included in Kentucky and Tennessee had been settled in places for fifteen or twenty years. Kentucky remained a part of Virginia until she was admitted as a state, but Tennessee was, in 1790, ceded to the union by North Carolina. South of Tennessee the country was still a wilderness possessed by the Indians, but claimed by South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Louisiana.

300. What was the state of Franklin?

Franklin, or Frankland, was the name given to Tennessee by the settlers, who, in 1784, revolted against the rule of North Carolina, and established a state government. The pretext of the revolution was an act ceding Tennessee to the federal government, which was, however, almost immediately repealed. The revolutionists were headed by John Sevier, whom they elected governor.

301. Was the revolution suppressed?

Yes; but not by military force. The revolutionary government maintained itself for some years, even after many of the Tennesseans had acknowledged submission to North Carolina, and held elections for members of the North Carolina assembly. This division of sentiment among the people led to strife and threatened civil war, but the adherents of North Carolina prevailed and the state of Franklin was suppressed.

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#### CHAPTER V—WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

302. How long was Washington president?

Eight years—from 1789 to 1797—being reelected in 1793 by the unanimous vote of the presidential electors. (John Adams was also reelected vice president.)

303. Note the chief events of this administration.

The admission of states into the union, an Indian war in the northwest, and a domestic insurrection against the taxes levied on whisky. Also, the establishment of a national bank, and the invention of the cotton-gin.

304. What new states were admitted, and in what years?

Leaving out of count North Carolina and Rhode Island—quasi-states, that delayed ratifying the constitution—the new states were: Vermont, admitted in 1791; Kentucky, 1792, and Tennessee, 1796.

305. When was Vermont colonized?

Vermont was never recognized as a colony either by the king or by the other colonies. The territory was claimed both by New York and New Hampshire, and Massachusetts preferred a claim to the southern part. During the revolutionary war—just previous to Burgoyne's invasion—the "Green Mountain Boys" declared Vermont a separate state, denying allegiance to any other state. Congress at first refused to consider the application of the new state, denying the authority of the Vermont government. Informal negotiations with Canada were then (1781) begun, to the great disturbance of the continental congress, which virtually pledged itself to admit the new state, on condition that the boundary lines on its east and west sides were satisfactorily established.

306. Was this promise fulfilled?

No; Vermont fulfilled the conditions, but the congress, under the Confederation, neglected to pass an enabling act.



Hence Vermont continued as a territory, virtually governing itself until 1791.

307. How was she then admitted?

In that year, New York state ceased her vain attempts to reestablish her authority in Vermont, and desiring the vote of the new state to keep the national capital at New York city, she withdrew her opposition to the act of admission. (Vermont paid \$30,000 to indemnify the holders of New York grants to her lands.)

308. Whence the name of this state?

The name was taken from the French for Green Mountains.

309. When was Kentucky admitted into the union?

Kentucky, the western part of Virginia, was separated therefrom in 1792, and admitted as a separate state. The country was first explored some twenty or thirty years previous to this, but at the date of its admission it contained nearly 75,000 settlers.

310. Whence the name of this state?

Kentucky signifies—according to the best authorities—"at the head of the river."

311. When was Tennessee admitted?

In 1796; the country had been a part of North Carolina, but had been ceded, in 1790, to the federal government and formed into the Southwest Territory.

312. Whence the name of this state?

From its principal river, called by the Indians, "Tennessee—the river with the big bend."

3 3. Give an account of the Indian war.

In 1790 the Indians began to attack the settlements in Ohio. A force sent out under Gen. Harmar was repulsed and failed to bring the enemy to terms. Another sent out under Gen. St. Clair in 1791, met even a worse fate, being surprised and defeated near the headwaters of the Wabash river. The Indians demanded as the price of peace the perpetual exclusion of settlers from Ohio and the Northwest. Their defeat by Gen. Anthony Wayne in 1794,—near the present city of Toledo—so far subdued them that they consented to yield the territory now included in Ohio.

314. What was the "whisky insurrection?"

The settlers in Western Pennsylvania and Virginia resented the tax levied upon the manufacture of whisky by the federal government, and in 1794 their resistance to the law became so

marked that a small army of militia was sent to Pittsburgh to restore order.

315. What contributed to the general prosperity of the country?

The establishment of a better system of currency, based on a national bank, and the invention of the cotton gin, which added a new source of income to agriculture in the southern states.

316. If the national bank was a good thing, why was it opposed?

That the currency system of which it was a part proved beneficial, is admitted, but there were good arguments against (1) the constitutionality of the measure and (2) its expediency—since a stable currency might have been otherwise supplied.

317. What was the cotton gin and what did it do for agriculture in the southern states?

It resembled a series of circular saws, so operating that the teeth caught the cotton fiber and drew it between parallel wires, leaving the seeds behind. Invented by Eli Whitney in 1793, it added 200 per cent to the efficiency of labor in cleaning cotton, and made cotton raising at once enormously profitable.

318. What was the course of partisan politics during this administration?

The adoption of the constitution had virtually put an end to the Anti-federalists. The administration of Washington was signalized by the rise of a party in opposition to the Federalists, that disclaimed all connection with the opposers of the union. The Democratic Republicans, as they called themselves, professed devoted attachment to the union and the constitution, but opposed the financial policy of the treasury, the tendency toward centralization of power, and denounced Hamilton, John Adams and others as secretly in favor of a monarchy.

319. What was the objection to the financial policy of the treasury?

The new party criticised the assumption of the state debts and especially the mode of assumption which, it was alleged, greatly increased the burden of financial indebtedness, and was, moreover, an entirely gratuitous concession to the "money-power" or creditor class. The funding of the debt in long-

time bonds that would probably be sold abroad was also censured (the arguments of the Republicans resembling those advanced by the Greenback party of our day).

320. What can you say of the charge of tendency toward centralization and aristocracy?

There was some ground for the charge, but there is reason to doubt the extent of the predilection attributed to the Federalist leaders. Hamilton and Adams were both openly in favor of a strong national government to be endowed with powers not yet entrusted to it. They were also favorably disposed toward the principle of aristocracy, and Hamilton, at least, in early life, made no secret of his preference for a monarchy. Had there been a popular candidate for the throne, the charge brought against the Federalists might have had justification.

321. To which party did Washington belong?

Washington was claimed by the Federalists, with whom he undoubtedly sympathized, but he endeavored to be neutral and to retain the confidence and approval of both parties.

322. What breach occurred in his cabinet?

Hamilton and Knox, secretaries of the treasury and of war respectively, were leaders of the Federalists. Jefferson and Randolph, the secretary of state and attorney general, early joined the Republicans and were soon recognized as leaders of their party. This breach led in 1793 to Jefferson's resignation of the office of secretary of state. Randolph took the vacant position, and Wm. Bradford, of Pennsylvania, became attorney general.

323. Did these parties oppose each other in the second presidential election?

No; the Republicans sought the re-election of Washington. Jefferson urged the president to seek a second and even a third election, avowedly to check the growing power of Hamilton and his friends.

324. Who was the second president of the United States?

John Adams, of Massachusetts.

325. Who was Mr. Adams?

He had been a political leader since the beginning of the revolution. He had served as minister to Great Britain and the Netherlands, and had twice proved the second choice of the electors for president. It was only natural that when Washington refused a third term, the Federalist vote should be cast for Adams.

326. For whom did the Republican electors vote?

For Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and he, standing second to Adams in the poll of the electors, became vice-president.

327. With what had the Republicans to contend?

With the odium excited by the excesses of the French revolution and the conduct of the revolutionary government toward America. The party had openly applauded the rising of the French people against the monarchy, and found itself discredited by the behavior of the revolutionists.

328. On the other hand, with what did the Federalists contend?

With the popular dissatisfaction aroused by Jay's treaty with England. This treaty, signed in 1795, secured the evacuation of the military posts in the northwest, and also the payment of certain claims of American citizens, but it made numerous concessions to England and was therefore very distasteful to the people of America. The action of the president and senate in ratifying the treaty, in the face of popular disapproval, gave great offense.

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#### CHAPTER VI—ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

329. How long was John Adams president?

From 1797 to 1801, one term only.

330. What were the chief events of this administration?

The existence for a few months of a state of war with France; the passage of the alien and sedition laws and the opposition thereto; the death of Washington; the removal of the national capital to Washington city, and the political defeat of the Federalists in the national election of 1800.

331. What was the cause of trouble with France?

The trouble began during Washington's administration. The revolutionary government in France expected help from the United States in its war with England. The British navy controlled the seas and blockaded the ports of France, but the people of that country hoped to use American ports in fitting out privateers to prey upon British commerce. This our government refused to allow.

332. Had France any right to expect such a privilege?

Yes; we were united to France in an offensive and defensive

alliance. France had come to our rescue in the revolutionary war and we had bound ourselves to return the favor.

333. On what plea did our government withdraw from its obligations?

On the plea that the change in the government of France altered the conditions of the agreement. It seemed inexpedient to risk American ships and cargoes by joining in the war against Great Britain, the undoubted mistress of the seas. Hence a proclamation of neutrality was issued.

334. What did France do?

France sent over a special ambassador, M. Genet, to carry out her scheme of war from America.

335. Was this ambassador received?

Yes; but he was informed that he would not be allowed to carry out his plans. Genet was unruly and insolent, and after bearing with him for nearly a year, Washington asked his recall.

336. What effect did this have?

It caused a rupture of our friendly relations with France, and that country took additional offense at Jay's treaty with England. James Monroe was sent over to adjust matters, but failed to do so. Chas. C. Pinckney was sent over, but with no better result. The French government began to order the seizure of American cargoes on flimsy pretexts, and to make laws which rendered American commerce with France both difficult and dangerous.

337. Was war declared?

War with France was not declared, but a state of war with that country existed during the latter half of the year 1798. Congress met, abolished the treaties with France, formed an army and increased the navy. French vessels were attacked and a number of them were captured.

338. What was the conclusion?

In 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte, who had seized the control of the French government, offered to make peace upon terms which the United States eagerly accepted.

339. What national song was published during this war?

"Hail Columbia." This song was written by Joseph Hopkinson in the spring of 1798, to be sung in a Philadelphia theater. It was suited to the "President's March," a popular piece of music composed in honor of Washington, shortly after his first inauguration.



340. What was the Alien act?

There were several acts relating to aliens passed in 1798, but one only is generally known by that name. It provided that for two years the president should have power to order out of the country all such foreigners as he might judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or suspected to be engaged in any treasonable or secret machinations.

341. Was this act put into effect?

No; its passage frightened several French emissaries out of the country, but the president never saw fit to exercise the power entrusted to him.

342. By whom and why was the act denounced?

By the Republicans, as an unconstitutional interference with the right of the states to admit (prior to 1808) such persons as they saw fit, and as a denial of the individual right to trial by jury.

343. What was the Sedition law?

An act passed in the summer of 1798, which made it a high misdemeanor to combine or conspire to oppose any measures of the government, or to print "false, scandalous and malicious writings" against the government or the members or departments thereof, with the intent to bring into contempt or disrepute, or to excite resistance to the laws or encourage the designs of any hostile nation. The act was a temporary one, to continue in force only until March, 1801.

344. How was the act regarded by the people?

The Federalists applauded it, but the Republicans denounced it as a step toward tyranny as well as a usurpation on the part of the federal government. The general opinion sided with the Republicans, and the Federalist party was overwhelmingly defeated in the next election. (The first man convicted under the sedition law was Matthew Lyon, a member of congress, and he was re-elected while still in jail, by an overwhelming majority.)

345. How did vice-president Jefferson regard the course of the government?

His private correspondence shows him to have been very bold in his denunciation of the Federalist administration. He said that "while our state governments are the very best in the world, our general government has, in the rapid course of nine

or ten years, become more arbitrary and has swallowed up more of popular liberty than even that of England."

346. What countermove did he propose?

He made the original draft of the "Kentucky resolutions," of 1798, and aided and abetted the introduction of similar resolutions in the Virginia legislature in 1798.

347. Give the gist of the Virginia resolutions.

These resolutions (drafted by Madison,) were based on the premise that the federal government was created by a compact of the states, and held that in case the said government should attempt "a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted" by the constitution, it is the right and duty of the states to interpose for correcting the progress of the evil and maintaining the rights of the states. The Alien and Sedition laws were declared "palpable and alarming infractions of the constitution," and in the original draft of the resolutions were proclaimed "null, void and of no effect." (The last clause was stricken out before passage.)

348. What was the purport of the Kentucky resolutions?

They were based on the same view of the federal compact as that taken in the Virginia resolutions, and like them denied the power of congress to pass certain specified laws. Like them, too, they were modified previous to their passage, so that instead of insisting on the right of the state to nullify unconstitutional laws, they simply called upon congress to repeal the obnoxious acts.

349. How were these resolutions regarded by the public?

With disfavor, as likely to bring the state governments into collision with the federal authority. The resolutions were never laid before congress, and though sent to the legislatures of the several states, they were acted upon by none of them.

350. When did Washington die?

He died suddenly Dec. 14, 1799.

351. When was the national capital removed to its present site?

It was removed in 1800 from Philadelphia to Washington, the latter then a straggling village in the woods on the banks of the Potomac river.

352. What was the electoral vote for president in 1800?

Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, the Republican candi-

dates, received 73 votes each. John Adams and C. C. Pinckney, Federalists, received 65 and 64 votes respectively.

353. Was this defeat of the Federalists unexpected?

No; though the party had retained a majority in congress, it was known to be unpopular and was divided into factions by the jealousy of the party leaders.

354. How were the electors chosen?

In most cases by districts, that being the fairest way, if all parties in all the states would agree to it. In Virginia the choice was by the people on a general ticket and the entire electoral vote was given to the Republicans. In Massachusetts and South Carolina the legislatures chose the electors (all Republican), and the Pennsylvania legislature--after some wrangling between the Federalist Senate and the Republican house--also made choice of the state's electors, seven of whom were named by the upper house and eight by the lower. The other states, voting by districts, divided their vote between the parties.

355. Since the votes for Jefferson and Burr were equal, how was the matter settled?

According to the constitution, the choice was made by the federal house of representatives, voting by states. After a long wrangle in which the Federalists generally supported Burr the choice fell upon Jefferson, who became president. (Burr, of course, being the second choice, became vice-president.)

356. Consequent upon this election, what change was made in the constitution?

In consequence of the difficulties of this election, the twelfth constitutional amendment was adopted in 1804. It changed the manner of electing the president and vice-president,, so that instead of voting for two candidates for the former office each elector indicated his choice for president and also, on a separate ballot, for vice-president. As before, the choice was left to the house of representatives whenever, from any cause, no valid election was made by the electors.

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#### CHAPTER VII.—JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

357. Who was the third president of the United States?

Thomas Jefferson. He was one of the most eminent Americans of the revolutionary period, and though he wrote little for publication and made very few public addresses, no writer or speaker ever more potently governed his party. He had held

high offices under Federal rule and his action in organizing the Republican party was the promotion of political principles, not the furtherance of personal ambitions; yet few men can have had their ambitions more thoroughly satisfied.

358. What were his political principles?

Chief among them was a belief in the freedom of the people, individually and collectively. The following memorable utterance—taken from his inaugural address—well expresses his idea: "If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve the union, or to change its republican form, let them stand, undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it."

359. How long was Jefferson president?

Eight years, being re-elected in 1804 for a second term.

360. What were the chief events of Jefferson's first term?

The war with Tripoli, the admission of Ohio as a state, the purchase of Louisiana and the exploration of Oregon.

361. What led to the war with Tripoli?

The United States, following the practice of more powerful European states, had purchased peace with the piratical states of Northern Africa by giving presents, often sums of money, which the Barbary states accepted as tribute. The bey of Tripoli, believing that he had received less than the dey of Algiers, demanded a second payment, and when it was refused, declared war on American commerce. Tunis, Algiers and Morocco showed signs of hostility, demanding additional presents.

362. How was the war with Tripoli carried on?

The Tripolitan cruisers attacked American merchant vessels in the Mediterranean sea and on the coast of Spain, and the United States navy was sent to pursue and capture them and to attack the seaport of Tripoli. Superior skill and valor made the American seamen more than a match for the pirates, and in 1805 Tripoli yielded and engaged to keep the peace. The European nations, encouraged by our example, refused tribute to the Barbary states, and forced them to desist from piracy.

363. Under what circumstances did an American ship first reach Constantinople?

Just before the beginning of the Tripolitan war (in 1800), Captain Bainbridge of the frigate *George Washington*, in visiting Algiers to pay the customary tribute, was pressed into the dey's service to convey an ambassador to the porte. The introduction, though occurring in circumstances so humiliating, led to the establishment of friendly relations with the sultan.

364. When was the state of Ohio admitted?

In 1802. This territory was taken from the Northwest Territory, organized under the ordinance of 1787. Its first American settlement was at Marietta, and Losantiville (Cincinnati) in 1788. Its name was taken from that of its principal river.

365. How was the territory of Louisiana acquired?

By purchase, in 1803, from France, Spain having ceded it to Napoleon in 1800. Napoleon had, after his accession to power, made peace with the United States, a peace which his acquisition of New Orleans threatened to disturb. Moreover, England, all-powerful on the seas, might at any time seize the territory. Napoleon, therefore, bargained to sell it for \$15,000,000.

366. How was this payment made to France?

Six per cent bonds of the United States (payable in fifteen years) to the amount of \$11,250,000 were given, and the balance was held subject to order for the payment of American claims against France.

367. Was Jefferson consistent in making this purchase?

No; on the principle often urged by him, that the national government had no powers not specifically granted to it, he could not consistently advise the appropriation of money to purchase territory. Indeed, he saw this, and at first proposed a constitutional amendment to legalize the usurpation which he advised congress to make only because Napoleon's offer must be accepted at once. But congress had no scruples about voting the money, and the suggested amendment was never formulated.

368. What was the extent of the Louisiana territory thus acquired?

It extended from the Gulf of Mexico to British America and from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and included, with the exception of Texas and part of Kansas, all the country within those boundaries.

369. Did the province not extend to the Pacific ocean?



Some geographies and historians assert that it did, but the weight of authority is against such an extension, and our right to Oregon and Washington Territory is based on early explorations beginning with those of Lewis and Clarke.

370. Who were these explorers?

After the purchase of Louisiana, the government sent out an expedition to explore the upper waters of the Missouri river and to cross the mountains to the ocean. Merriwether Lewis and William Clarke commanded the expedition, and in the course of two years and a half succeeded in accomplishing their work and in laying the foundation of our claim to the territory.

371. What memorable duel occurred in 1804?

July 11, 1804, a duel was fought between Aaron Burr, the vice-president, and Alexander Hamilton, ex-secretary of the treasury. Hamilton was mortally wounded, and died in a few hours.

372. What effect did this duel have on Burr's political career?

It simply added to the disfavor with which he was regarded. He had lost the confidence of the Republicans without gaining that of the Federalists. In any event he would not have been re-elected vice-president. George Clinton of New York was chosen to succeed him.

373. What was the result of the presidential election of 1804?

The re-election of Jefferson by an increased majority. In the electoral ballot the vote stood, Jefferson and Clinton, 162; Pinckney and King (the Federalist candidates), 14.

374. What were the chief events of Jefferson's second term?

European interference with the neutral trade of America, and retaliatory legislation on the part of the United States. Also Burr's expedition, Fulton's invention of the steamboat and the prohibition of foreign slave trade.

375. How came European nations to interfere with the trade of America?

To punish or prevent American violation of their trade regulations. Ships trading with Hayti and San Domingo, colonies which had rebelled against France and Spain, were subject to attack by French and Spanish cruisers. England was at war with the empire of Napoleon Bonaparte, and desired to

crush out the trade between that empire and its American colonies. The United States, as a neutral nation, claimed the right—under the rule of war of 1756—to traffic with all powers unmolested, and under cover of this right, engaged in the profitable business of importing from the colonies and exporting to Europe. This England declared an evasion of the rules of war.

376. What action did England take?

She declared a blockade (in 1806), of the ports of France and her allies, and forbade the vessels of neutral nations' entering such ports under penalty of seizure.

377. How did Napoleon retaliate?

He issued (from Berlin) a decree proclaiming a similar blockade of British ports.

378. How was the blockade continued?

The next year Great Britain, by orders in council, imposed further regulations on American vessels and ordered the capture and confiscation of any vessel attempting to disobey or evade them. Napoleon issued a second decree (from Milan, Italy) ordering the capture and sale of all American vessels which had (in compliance with British regulations) entered British ports. By these rival nations, therefore, all trade with Europe was forbidden.

379. What further cause had America for complaint?

The continued exercise by England of her (alleged) right of search and impressment. England had long claimed the right to search foreign vessels for contraband goods in war time and on general principles in time of peace. She had the legal right to force sailors on her merchant vessels to join her navy, and on the theory that none of England's subjects could transfer their allegiance, British captains often pressed sailors from the crews of American vessels, selecting those who, from their dialect or appearance, seemed to be natives of Great Britain. The English government upheld the action of her naval commanders, being, of course, ready to apologize if they made the mistake (as they often did) of pressing native Americans.

380. What was the objection of the United States to this course?

She denied the right of search, except in case of vessels passing a blockade. She maintained the right of citizens of any (European) country to become, by naturalization, citizens of

the United States, and asserted her own right to protect such citizens equally with those who had been born in America.

381. What was the case of the Leopard and Chesapeake?

In 1807, the British frigate Leopard searched the United States frigate Chesapeake, off our own coasts, and impressed four seamen, three of whom were natives of America. The affair nearly led to a war.

382. Why was war not declared?

There was a strong feeling in favor of war, but it was confined to those states chiefly interested in foreign commerce. The navy was in no condition for war, and could scarcely defend our own coasts. Some feeble efforts were made to improve it, but the main reliance was placed on retaliatory legislation.

383. What was the nature of this legislation?

It began with the Embargo Act of 1807. This piece of folly—as it is now generally characterized—forbade the departure of American vessels from American ports. The theory of the president, who recommended the bill, was that a refusal to ship goods to Europe would be immediately felt by England and France, and induce them to modify their regulations. In the congress, too, there was a strong faction opposed to foreign trade as likely to lead us into war, and this assisted in the passage of the bill.

384. What was the effect of the embargo?

It offended England and France, of course, but as it left all the carrying-trade to British vessels, it did not seem to be doing England much harm. Napoleon cared little for it. In America, it proved a great hardship to sailors and merchants, and many attempts were made to evade it.

385. How long did the law continue?

Until 1809, when it was repealed, and the non-intercourse law—forbidding trade with England and France—substituted for it. This change gave a little relief, especially as the new law could not be readily enforced, but both laws did great damage to America.

386. What was Burr's Mississippi valley conspiracy?

Aaron Burr, after the expiration of his term as vice-president in March, 1805, began to plot a revolution in the southwest, by which the territories of the Mississippi Valley were to be detached from the union and organized as a separate republic. He also proposed to free Mexico from Spanish rule and establish it as an independent kingdom.

387. What progress did he make in this plot?

He journeyed down the Mississippi to New Orleans, and spent two years in traveling about in the west, cultivating the acquaintance of prominent men and secretly enlisting those whom he thought favorably disposed. Having thus organized his forces, he was nearly ready to openly rebel against the authority of the United States, when he was arrested on the charge of treason and his followers dispersed.

388. What was the conclusion of the matter?

Burr himself was tried at Richmond for treason under an indictment found against him by the grand jury for the district of Virginia. He was acquitted, never having waged war against the United States, though there was little doubt of his intention to do so.

389. When and by whom was the first successful steamboat constructed?

In 1807, by Robert Fulton. Fulton's first boat, the Clermont, began the navigation of the Hudson from New York to Albany, in September, 1807. Steam had been used to propel vessels before this, but with ill success, owing to defective machinery.

390. When was the importation of slaves forbidden?

By a bill passed in 1807 the importation of slaves was prohibited after the 1st of January following. This was the earliest date at which the constitution permitted the restriction of the slave trade, (see Art. I, sec. 9,) and the law was strongly opposed as hostile to the interests of the slave states.

391. What was the result of the presidential election of 1808?

The choice of James Madison of Virginia for president, and George Clinton of New York for vice-president. There were three candidates for the presidency, Madison, Clinton and James Monroe, all Republicans, the Federals casting their vote for C. C. Pinckney and Rufus King. Clinton was named by congressional caucus for the vice-presidency, but his friends still continued to urge his election as chief magistrate. The electoral vote stood: For president, Madison, 123; Clinton, 6; Pinckney, 47; For vice-president, Clinton, 113; Monroe, 6; Langdon, 10; King, 47.

## CHAPTER VIII.—MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

392. How long was Madison president?

Eight years; from 1809 to 1817.

393. What was the chief event of this period?

The war with Great Britain, generally known as the war of 1812.

394. What causes led to this war?

The overbearing conduct of Great Britain in enforcing her Orders in Council, forbidding trade with France and her allies. Napoleon had (falsely) announced the revocation of the Berlin decree, and hence the American non-intercourse law, just re-enacted by congress, was directed against Great Britain. This aroused her enmity, and her war vessels were allowed to capture American merchantmen anywhere on the high seas.

395. What was the affair of the President and Little Belt?

In 1811, the United States frigate President hailed the British war vessel Little Belt, off Cape Charles, and was answered by a cannon shot. In the fight that followed, the British vessel was badly beaten.

396. When was war declared?

June 18, 1812, congress declared war, in deference to popular clamor, though the country was ill prepared to attack so powerful a country as Great Britain.

397. What was the comparative naval strength of the two countries?

The British navy numbered about 1000 vessels, many of them the most powerful war vessels afloat. The American navy consisted of twelve men-of-war and a number of small vessels dignified by the name of gunboats.

398. What was the comparative population and military strength of the two countries?

The people of the United States numbered about seven and a half millions. The American people were poor and scattered over a wide expanse of territory. The British were, it is true, exhausted by their long-continued war with France, which still engaged their attention, but their martial spirit was aroused and they were prepared for war. The Americans were not prepared for war, as the party in power was opposed to a stand-



ing army. Another drawback was the hostility of the Indian tribes in the northwest, against whom an army had been sent under Gen. W. H. Harrison.

399. What was the chief battle in this Indian war?

The battle at Tippecanoe (near Lafayette, Ind.,) fought Nov. 7, 1811. The Indians were led by Tecumseh, and the whites by Harrison. The result was a complete defeat of the red men.

400. What was the general course of the war with England?

It consisted of military attacks on the British colonies in Canada, and naval attacks on British shipping on the sea. In retaliating, Great Britain attacked the Atlantic coast and New Orleans, then the only town of consequence on the gulf of Mexico.

401. Describe the first movements against Canada.

First came Gen. Hull's attack from Detroit. He was beaten back, and forced to surrender Detroit and the whole northwest territory. Gen. Harrison was sent to reconquer the country, but at first accomplished but little. Gen. Dearborn, and after him Gen. Wilkinson, attacked Canada by crossing the Niagara river, but these attacks were beaten off, so that, generally speaking, the American armies suffered defeat during the first two years of the war.

402. How had the navy fared?

Much better. In six months after war was declared, the little American navy had captured five British men-of-war, and never lost a battle. Other victories followed in 1813, so that the British began to be cautious, reinforcing their navy to blockade our ports without seeking conflict, except under favorable circumstances. The Americans lost three vessels, the Chesapeake, Argus and Essex, in this year. Other ships of war were lost by the Americans before peace was declared, but these were the only ones lost in equal fight.

403. What was the comparative loss at sea during the entire war?

Including all vessels taken, both by the regular navy and by privateers, the loss on each side numbered 1,700. Considering the value of the ships and cargoes, the British loss was the greatest. (No other nation had succeeded in inflicting equal losses in a naval war with Great Britain, but it must be remembered that British shipping was to be found nearly every where, while that of the Americans had been almost driven from the seas.)

404. Meanwhile, what success had attended the war on the Canadian border?

Two noteworthy battles were fought on the lakes, in both of which the Americans were successful. The army in Western New York, reorganized under new commanders, again crossed the Niagara and won some small victories.

405. How had the Atlantic coast fared during the war?

The coast towns had suffered greatly from the attacks of the British fleet. In August, 1814, the city of Washington was taken and the public buildings burned.

406. What led to the British attack on New Orleans?

The establishment of peace in Europe. Napoleon being compelled to retire to the island of Elba, England turned her forces upon America, and an army of 12,000 was sent to New Orleans.

407. What was the result of the expedition?

A disastrous defeat for the British at the battle of New Orleans Jan. 8, 1815. In an attack on Gen. Jackson's entrenchments, held by some 6,000 undisciplined troops, the British lost their commander and 2,500 men. The American loss was but 8 killed and 13 wounded.

408. When was peace made?

Peace had, as it happened, been agreed upon before the battle of New Orleans was fought. Dec. 24, 1814, a treaty of peace was drawn up at Ghent, Belgium. This was duly ratified and the war closed.

409. What was noteworthy about this treaty?

That it ignored the causes of the war. Great Britain tacitly withdrew from her arrogant position, her "orders in council" were allowed to lapse, and the right of search and impressment was never again claimed.

410. What Indian tribes had given trouble during the war with England?

The Creeks in the southwest territory. They were finally defeated by Gen. Jackson at the battle of Horseshoe Bend (Ala.), March 27, 1814.

411. How had the war of 1812 affected the American people?

It had caused great distress by destroying foreign and home trade. The people of New England were especially disturbed

and they became greatly dissatisfied with the national administration.

412. What was the Hartford convention?

A meeting called by the Federalists to discuss the condition of affairs. It met at Hartford, Conn., Dec. 15, 1814. The sessions were held in secret, but it is known that it discussed secession from the union. It published a proposal that New England defend her coasts in the war independent of the action of the federal government.

413. What was our national debt after the war of 1812?

About \$127,000,000, of which \$80,000,000 represented the cost of the war.

414. What war followed that with England?

In 1815 the United States sent a fleet, under Commodore Decatur, to demand satisfaction from Algiers, for acts of war during our contest with England. The dey of Algiers was forced to pay for American ships illegally seized, and to engage to keep the peace without demanding tribute. Similar treaties were forced on the piratical states of Tripoli and Tunis.

415. What states were admitted during Madison's administration?

Louisiana in 1812, and Indiana in 1816.

416. What was the previous history of Louisiana?

Louisiana was first visited by La Salle in 1691. Settlements were soon after made by the French, who claimed the territory and held it till 1762, when they ceded it to Spain. In 1800 it was retroceded to France and soon after sold to the United States.

417. Whence the name of this state?

The name was given in 1712 by Louis XIV of France in honor of himself. The entire country ceded to us by France, was at first called Louisiana Territory, but by act of congress the name was in 1812 confined to the state, the remainder of the French cession being styled Missouri Territory.

418. What objection was made to the admission of Louisiana?

Some people held that there was no authority granted to the federal government to admit states formed from territory acquired since the adoption of the constitution. By Josiah Quincy, speaking for the New England states, the admission

was declared "virtually a dissolution of the union." "It will free the states from their moral obligation," he added, "and as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, definitely to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must." (This was the first enunciation of the doctrine of secession.)

419. What of the state of Indiana?

Indiana was the second of the five states carved out of the old Northwest Territory, the battle ground between English and French, and Americans and English, to say nothing of the wars with Indian tribes. The country was settled chiefly by emigrants from the Eastern and Middle States, and its white inhabitants numbered something over 25,000 when it was organized as a state.

420. What was the result of the presidential election of 1812?

The electoral vote stood: For president, James Madison, 128; De Witt Clinton (of New York), 89. For vice-president, Elbridge Gerry, (of Massachusetts), 131; Jared Ingersoll (of Pennsylvania), 86. The Federalists cast their votes for Clinton, a Republican, who was put up as a protest against the congressional caucus that nominated Madison.

421. What of the election of 1816?

James Monroe of Virginia, and Daniel D. Tompkins of New York were chosen president and vice-president, receiving 183 of the 227 electoral votes cast. The remaining 34 votes, representing the strength of the opposition, were given to Rufus King, of New York (Federalist) for president and scattered among various candidates for the vice-presidency.

422. Give some account of the successful candidates.

James Monroe was a captain in the revolutionary war, and also served for a time as a member of the continental congress. He was elected senator after the adoption of the constitution, but was soon sent abroad as minister to France, England and Spain. Returning in 1818, he was elected governor of Virginia. He was secretary of state in Madison's cabinet. Daniel D. Tompkins had become famous as governor of New York during the war of 1812.

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#### CHAPTER IX.—MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.

423. How long was Monroe president?

Eight years; from 1817 to 1825.

424. What were the chief events of this administration?

The establishment of what was known as the "era of good feeling" in politics, and the Missouri compromise on the subject of the extension of slavery. The beginning of internal improvements by the federal government and the adoption of a protective tariff; the purchase of Florida, the enunciation of the "Monroe doctrine," and the admission of five states into the union.

425. What was the "era of good feeling"?

The dissolution of the Federal party left but one political organization in the field, the Republican, or, as it now began to be called, the Democratic party. There was a noteworthy lull in party strife, which earned for this administration the name of the "era of good feeling."

426. How did this good feeling appear in the election of 1820?

There was no opposition to the re-election of Monroe and Tompkins, and they received the all but unanimous vote of the electoral colleges.

427. How long did this era last?

Till the rise of the slavery question, first broached in the proposal to admit the state of Missouri.

428. How did the question present itself?

The new states of the south had been admitted as slave states but slavery had, by the ordinance of 1797, been kept out of the country north of the Ohio. Louisiana was a slave state when admitted; Missouri also had slaves and proposed to keep them. To this the northern states (now almost entirely free) objected, and emphasized their objection by voting against the admission of the state.

429. How was the matter settled?

By the "Missouri Compromise," arranged mainly by Henry Clay. The new state was admitted, but slavery was thereafter to be excluded from the territory north of the parallel 36 deg. 30 min., which forms the southern boundary of Missouri.

430. What was the question with regard to internal improvements?

It was held by many that congress had no right to appropriate money for internal improvements. Madison vetoed such an appropriation as unconstitutional. Congress, however, had already voted money to build or repair roads and bridges



and such appropriations continued to be made. A national road, for the use of emigrants, was laid out from Cumberland, Md., to the state of Indiana. Money was also voted for the improvement of the navigation of rivers and for the construction of canals.

431. What were the states doing to increase transportation facilities?

Some of the states were making great efforts. New York, for instance, began the Erie canal in 1817 and finished it in 1825.

432. What was the first tariff imposed in the United States and how long did it last?

The first customs tariff was that arranged by Alexander Hamilton in 1789. It lasted until 1816.

433. What then took its place?

The "Calhoun tariff," so called from its promoter, John C. Calhoun. It lasted until 1824.

434. How did it differ from the Hamilton tariff?

It increased the average duties from 12 percent to over 24 percent, and was, moreover, strongly protective in its arrangement. (Still, Calhoun afterward became noted as the champion of free trade.)

435. What condition of things led to the introduction of the protective principle?

The embargo and non-intercourse laws, followed by the war of 1812, had kept out foreign goods and stimulated many American manufactures. When peace came, the persons engaged in these manufactures felt the decline in prices and clamored for a protective tariff.

436. Were they satisfied with the Calhoun tariff?

No; they still petitioned congress, and in 1824 a third tariff was established. The average of duties was  $32\frac{1}{2}$  per cent and the whole system was designed to protect American industries.

437. What were our troubles with Florida at this time?

After the close of the war with Great Britain, the Seminole Indians of Florida, aided by the Spaniards, kept up a war with the settlers of Georgia and Alabama. Gen. Jackson, who was sent against them, invaded Florida and seized the city of Pensacola. Spain protested, and the city was given back to her.

438. How was the matter settled ?

By the purchase of Florida Territory from Spain for \$5-000,000. The treaty was made in 1819, but not ratified till 1821.

439. What was the "Monroe doctrine" put forth about this time ?

In view of the attempt by Spain and other European countries to reconquer the former Spanish-American colonies of South America, President Monroe in a message to congress declared that the attempt by any European nation to reduce an independent nation of North or South America to the condition of a colony could not be "viewed with indifference." The doctrine that America belonged to Americans and must be free from European interference, was generally applauded and became a part of the foreign policy of the government.

440. What states were admitted during this administration ?

Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine and Missouri.

441. What was Mississippi previous to its admission as a state ?

It was at first a part of Georgia, but the territory was ceded to the federal government in 1802. It had in 1810 over 40-000 inhabitants, mostly emigrants from the slave states. It was admitted in 1817 with a constitution authorizing slavery.

442. Whence the name of this state ?

From the river Mississippi. The name, given by the Indians, signifies, "The father of waters."

443. What year was Illinois admitted ?

In 1818, Illinois was formed from the old Northwest Territory. It had only about 12,000 settlers in 1810 and only one town of importance, the old French fort of Peoria.

444. Whence did Illinois derive its name ?

From Illini—"Tribe of Men"—the name of an Indian tribe.

445. When was Alabama admitted ?

In 1819. Like Mississippi, Alabama was formed from the territory ceded by Georgia. The southern part was also claimed by the Spaniards of Florida and the French of Louisiana. Mobile was founded by the French.

446. What does the name of the state signify ?

It is an Indian word meaning "Here we rest."

447. When was Maine admitted ?

In 1820. Maine had long been a part of Massachusetts, but that state freely assented to the separation. (The coast was called "main" as distinguished from the islands first settled by the fishermen.)

448. When was Missouri admitted ?

In 1821. As above stated, Missouri was admitted, as the result of an agreement on the slavery question. The country was a part of upper Louisiana and was first settled by the French.

449. What was the result of the presidential election of 1824 ?

There was still no division into political parties, and the electoral vote for president was divided among four candidates as follows: John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, 84; Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, 99; William H. Crawford of Georgia, 41; Henry Clay of Kentucky, 37. As none of the candidates had received a majority, the election was left to the house of representatives, which elected John Quincy Adams.

450. What was the result of the vice presidential contest ?

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina received 183 electoral votes: the remaining 30 being given to Sanford of New York.

451. What can you say of the successful candidates ?

John Quincy Adams was the son of John Adams, the second president of the United States. He had served the country as minister to the Netherlands, Prussia and Russia; had been senator from his state, and secretary of state in Monroe's cabinet. Was at first a Federalist, but became a republican before the war of 1812. Calhoun had been secretary of war and senator from his state. Both Adams and Calhoun were men of remarkable ability.

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#### CHAPTER X—JOHN Q. ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

452. How long was John Quincy Adams president ?

Four years; from 1825 to 1829.

453. What can you say of this period ?

It was comparatively uneventful, but it included the origin of many notable features of American history. The introduction of railways and locomotives, the beginning of the transportation of Indian tribes to Indian Territory, and also

the beginning of the political struggle for and against a protective tariff, which resulted in the formation of the Whig party.

454. Were railways a new invention ?

Railways, or tramways, as they were called (from the name of their inventor, Mr. Outram), had been used in England for about 200 years. The cars were drawn by horses. Then a clumsy steam locomotive was invented and one or two put in use in 1825. In 1828, a trial was made with one on a Pennsylvania railway near Mauch Chunk. Finally, George Stephenson, in 1829, exhibited the first really successful locomotive, and gave an impetus to railroad making both in England and America.

455. What was the Indian question at this time ?

The Indian question, as far as the national government was concerned, was how to satisfy the demands of the whites without actually robbing the Indians. The tribes had been deprived of their hunting grounds partly by a war and partly by purchase, so that many of them had already been driven beyond the Mississippi. In the north, Wisconsin still belonged to the red men, and there were reservations in the states where parts of tribes still lived. In the south, the Creeks and Choctaws, conquered in war, had sold their lands and agreed to move to the western territories. With these a number of the Cherokees cast their lot, but most of the tribe still held their lands in Georgia and Alabama, refusing to sell or exchange.

456. What was the condition of the Cherokees ?

They were intelligent and educated. They had churches, and schools of their own, and a newspaper was published in their language. They were rapidly becoming civilized, though they still retained their tribal organization.

457. What trouble had arisen between the Cherokees and the Georgians ?

The settlers wanted the Indian lands, and the state of Georgia demanded that the Cherokees be forced to exchange them for lands in the west. As the federal government would not act, the state determined to take measures to coerce the Indians and, in 1827, President Adams was forced to interfere for the protection of the red men.

458. What was the outcome of this matter ?

The Georgians had their way, and the next federal administration, partly by force and partly by persuasion, induced the

Cherokees to remove to what is now the Indian Territory. (This was done in 1835.)

459. What two ex-presidents died in this administration ?

John Adams and Thomas Jefferson died July 4, 1826. This was the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the declaration of independence, that these two men had done so much to bring about.

460. What political party arose during this administration ?

The whig party. President Adams and Henry Clay, his secretary of state, were warm advocates of the "American system," as it was called, that had already found favor in the congress. This included a protective tariff and federal appropriations for "internal improvements,"—roads, canals, rivers and harbors, etc.

461. What tariff was adopted at this time ?

The tariff of 1828, nicknamed the "tariff of abominations." By it the duties on imported commodities of a kind that could be produced in America, were considerably increased.

462. How did this question become a sectional one ?

The southerners, depending on slave labor, raised cotton, rice, etc., for export (chiefly) to Europe. Selling at European prices, they desired to buy manufactured goods at the same rates, but were forced by the tariff either to pay a tax to the government or a premium to northern factories.

463. Did they then receive no benefit from the tariff ?

Yes; the capital and labor diverted by protection into northern factories might otherwise have engaged in raising cotton at the south and so lowered prices. The planters, however, refused to see this advantage.

464. Did they not get better prices for their produce on account of the nearer market ?

The protectionists assured them that they did, but the political economists (of the Smith-Ricardo School) assured them that they did not, and the planters believed the political economists.

465. Who were the candidates in the presidential election of 1828 ?

The National Republican, or Whig party, supported Adams for re-election. As Vice President Calhoun had joined the opposition, Richard Rush of Pennsylvania, was put up for vice-



president on the Adams ticket. The anti-tariff Republicans, who now assumed the name of Democrats, supported Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun.

466. What was the result?

The election of Jackson and Calhoun, who received 178 electoral votes to 83 for their opponents.

467. Who was Jackson?

Gen. Jackson was born in North Carolina in 1767. He emigrated to Tennessee, became a lawyer and was sent to congress, first as a representative and afterwards as senator. He also served as judge of the state supreme court. He became a general in the war of 1812 and in the Indian wars of that time. He had been a candidate for president in 1824 and received a plurality—but not a majority—of the electoral vote.

468. What was the subsequent career of President Adams?

After his defeat in 1828, John Quincy Adams continued in political affairs and was elected to the lower house of congress in 1831. He continued a member of that body until his death in 1848, thus proving a striking exception among American ex-presidents, who have generally done no public service after their retirement from the office of chief magistrate.

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#### CHAPTER XI—JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

469. How long was Jackson president?

Eight years; from 1829 to 1837, being re-elected in 1832, for a second term.

470. What was the character of this period of our country's history?

It was a period of commercial prosperity and of great progress in developing the resources of the country; in politics it was a period of strife, caused mainly by the disposition of the president and his treatment of his political opponents.

471. What progress was made in railway building?

Over 1,500 miles of railroad were completed during this administration, and a great number of new lines were begun.

472. What improvement was made in steamboat navigation?

The screw propeller, to take the place of the side wheels of steamers, invented by John Ericsson in 1836. This made ocean navigation more practicable, and gave an impetus to the construction of steam war vessels.

473. When was ocean navigation by steam begun?

In 1819 the Savannah, a steamer built for the purpose, crossed from America to England. Successful navigation of the ocean by steam dates from about 1838.

474. Note some of the inventions and discoveries of this period.

The McCormick reaper, the Colt revolver and the brimstone-tipped friction match must be counted among important inventions. Anthracite coal came into use in engine furnaces about this time and added greatly to their efficiency.

475. How had the population of the United States increased?

Some three millions were added to it during the ten years from 1820 to 1830, thus raising the total population to nearly 13,000,000. Much of this was due to immigration from Europe, caused by the reports of the prosperity of the states.

476. How did this affect the federal finances?

The rapid settlement of the western states increased the demand for government lands, and the federal income from land sales rose from \$1,000,000 to \$25,000,000 a year.

477. What disposition was made of the money?

After the federal debt was paid off in 1835, a surplus accumulated and was divided among the states. The party then in power opposed federal appropriations for public improvements, but it thus indirectly furnished the money for the work carried on by the states.

478. In what kind of public works were the states engaged?

In building roads, bridges and canals, and otherwise improving transportation facilities. Most of the states also began geological surveys about this time. The public schools, too, received state aid, Massachusetts establishing the normal school system for the training of teachers.

479. What advance was made in literature?

America had already a few writers in prose and verse, like Irving, Cooper and Bryant, but the existence of American literature was not recognized abroad. New books by these writers and the appearance of works by Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Hawthorne, Bancroft and Prescott, gave this country a standing in literature that English readers were glad to recognize.

480. What reforms were started during this era?

The Washingtonian movement for the diminution of drunk-

eness, the prison reform movement, and the agitation for the abolition of negro slavery.

481. What changes were made in political affairs?

Many and great changes were made as a consequence of Jackson's election. In the first place our presidents had hitherto been men of breeding and education; it is noteworthy that all (except Washington) were men who had been selected to represent us at European courts. Jackson was a man of great force of character and natural powers of mind. No man was ever more completely master of his party. But he was comparatively uneducated, violent in manner and aggressive in his methods. As a consequence, he was hated and feared by his political opponents, and by none more heartily than the class that had had the administration of the federal government.

482. What followed Jackson's inauguration as a consequence of this bitter hostility?

A general retirement of all officeholders who had opposed Jackson's election. Many resigned, refusing to serve under the new administration, and those who did not resign were dismissed without ceremony.

483. Was this dismissal justifiable?

No; it was "worse than a crime, it was a blunder." It was the treatment of political opponents as public enemies. Jackson was honest and upright, and his party—who fully approved his course—were not demoralized by office-seeking. They simply did, out of partisan hatred, what they would have been ashamed to do for personal or party advantage.

484. Did other presidents follow Jackson's example in making a "clean sweep" of the public offices?

Yes; it came to be the custom to remove officeholders, not only every time a new party came into power but every time a new president was elected. Rotation in office became not only an evil in itself but a source of other evils, such as the use of the appointing power to reward party or personal service, and the growth of the opinion that officeholders are servants of the party and not of the general public.

485. What was President Jackson's contest with the United States bank?

Jackson accepted the view that the federal government had no constitutional right to charter a bank; he also brought charges against the management of the bank, and advocated

investigation of the same in his messages to congress. The bank, he declared, was not conducted on business principles; loans, etc., were granted or refused from political motives, and the government revenues, deposited in the bank, were thus used against the Democratic party and to reward those public men who had done the bank service. The bank was then seeking a renewal of its charter—which expired in 1836—and it was to prevent this renewal that the president attacked it.

486. Was the party with the president in thus opposing the bank?

Not at first; the bill renewing the charter was passed and was prevented from becoming a law only by the president's veto. Jackson, however, brought his party round to his standpoint on this question, and thereafter opposition to a federal bank was a party principle.

487. In what other way did he seek to damage the bank?

In 1833 he ordered the secretary of the treasury to withdraw the government funds from the bank, and deposit them in various state banks. This was done amid great opposition. It crippled the bank so that though re-chartered in 1836 by the state of Pennsylvania, it failed utterly in 1840, leaving nothing for its stockholders.

488. How was Jackson's treatment of the bank regarded by his political opponents?

As a characteristic piece of tyranny. Jackson was determined to have his own way, and was roundly abused in consequence. The name Whig found favor with the new party, because they were opposed to Jackson as the "English Whigs had been to the tyrannical Stuarts.

489. What part did the tariff question play in politics at this time?

A most important part. The Whigs were in favor of the "American system," of high protective tariff and internal improvements, and with the aid of Northern Democrats had secured the passage of the tariff of 1828. President Jackson was opposed to the system, and by his vetoes defeated most of the appropriations for public works. Calhoun, vice-president during Jackson's first term, was still more fiercely opposed to the tariff, and in his own state headed the "nullification" movement.

490. What was the nullification doctrine?

It was one of the deductions from the doctrine of state sov-

ereignty; namely, that a state was a judge of the nature and extent of the rights delegated to the federal government, and that the declaration by a state that any measure of congress was unconstitutional nullified the law within the boundaries of that state.

491. What attempt was made to put this doctrine into practice?

In 1832 South Carolina called a convention which declared the tariff law null and void forbade the collection of duties at Charleston or any other port in the state, and threatened to secede if the law was enforced.

492. How did Jackson deal with the nullifiers?

He declared his intention to maintain the union and enforce the laws at all hazards. He sent a naval force to Charleston harbor to assist in the collection of the duties, and sent Gen. Scott, at the head of a military force, into the nullifying state to assist, if necessary, the federal officers in the discharge of their duties.

493. Did the Nullifiers recede from their position?

No; but to avoid strife, they suspended the nullification ordinance till after the adjournment of congress. The adoption of the "compromise tariff" of 1833 was accepted as a sufficient concession and the nullifying ordinance was repealed.

494. What was the effect of this compromise?

It provided for the gradual reduction of duties till 1842 and thereafter established the uniform rate of 20 per cent on the home valuation. (As the average of the duties levied by the tariff of 1828 was  $43\frac{1}{3}$  per cent, this was a great reduction.)

495. How did these questions affect the presidential campaign of 1832?

The campaign, occurring in the midst of this strife, was very bitter. The nullification movement and presidential aspirations as well, had alienated Vice President Calhoun from the Democratic party. In renominating Jackson, Martin Van Buren of New York, (then secretary of state) was put up for vice president.

496. What was the occasion and what the purpose of the Anti-Masonic party?

The abduction and murder of Wm Morgan of Western New York, in 1826, was attributed to the Free Masons. as he had published a book exposing that fraternity. A strong anti-masonic agitation was begun and in 1836 a national convention



was held, at which political action was taken. The purpose of the movement was to oppose secret societies and defeat the members of such organizations when nominated for office.

497. What was the result ?

The election of Jackson and Van Buren, who received 219 of the 288 electoral votes. Clay and Sergeant received 49, and the anti-masonic candidates 7 votes. (South Carolina, in view of her possible secession, held herself aloof, and cast her votes for two of her own citizens, John Floyd and Henry Lee.

498. What was Jackson's foreign policy ?

It was bold even to the verge of rashness. For thirty years our government had been trying to obtain payment from France for injuries done to American commerce. Jackson recommended to congress that, to hasten matters, enough French vessels should be seized to make up the amount due us. This nearly plunged the country into war with France, but through the mediation of Great Britain peace was restored and France paid the claims in question without delay. Similar claims were promptly paid by Portugal and other nations.

499. To whom did this indemnity fund belong ?

To the injured parties (or their heirs) in whose behalf the claims had been urged.

500. Was the money paid over to them ?

No; for some fifty years payment was refused, and it is only recently that the claimants were given any share of their fund.

501. What states were admitted during this administration ?

Arkansas and Michigan; the former in 1836 and the latter early in 1837.

502. What was Arkansas when admitted ?

A thinly settled territory of perhaps 20,000 inhabitants. It had been a part of Louisiana, and afterwards of Missouri Territory. It was first settled by the French and afterward by emigrants from the southern states. As a consequence it was admitted as a slave state.

503. What was the state of Michigan ?

The fourth state taken from the Northwest Territory. A French settlement had been made at Detroit in 1701, but no further settlements were made for a long time. The population was small and the people almost wholly engaged in agriculture.

504. What wars occurred during this administration ?

The Black Hawk war in 1832 and the Seminole war beginning in 1835.

505. What was the Black Hawk war?

The Indians of Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin, led by their chief, Black Hawk, revolted and were only put down after hard fighting. As a result they were driven far beyond the Mississippi.

506. What was the origin of the trouble with the Seminole Indians?

The Seminoles of Florida protected the negro slaves that fled to them, and this was the occasion of much complaint on the part of slave owners. This led to serious trouble between the whites and Indians, and in 1845, Major Dade and about 100 men encamped near the Withlacoochee river, were attacked and killed. War then began and lasted for seven years. The Indians were finally beaten and removed across the Mississippi.

507. Describe the presidential campaign of 1836.

The Democrats in national convention nominated Martin Van Buren (then vice president) for president and Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky for vice president. The Whigs held no national convention, but generally supported Wm. H. Harrison, who was nominated by the state convention of Pennsylvania.

508. Were nominating conventions not considered essential?

They were just then coming into vogue. The Anti-Masonic party held the first national convention for the nomination of candidates in 1831. In 1832 the Democrats sent delegates to Baltimore to choose a candidate for vice president, it being understood that Jackson was to be the party candidate for president. The Whigs held a convention to put forward Henry Clay in 1832, but the party was too disorganized to call a convention in 1836.

509. What was the party platform in 1836?

Platforms were not yet invented. Addresses were usually issued by the friends of the candidates, and from these the people could form an opinion concerning the principles involved in the contest. Van Buren, in accepting the nomination, engaged to "follow generally in the footsteps of Gen. Jackson."

510. What was the result of the election?

The victory of the Democratic party, which secured 170 electoral votes for Van Buren out of a total of 294. The opposition vote for president was distributed as follows: Wm. H. Harrison, 73 votes; Hugh L. White, 26; Daniel Webster,

14; W. B. Mangum, 11; The vote for vice president was also scattered, R. M. Johnson receiving 147, Francis Granger 77, John Tyler 47, and Wm. Smith 23. As no one received a majority of the votes cast, the election went to the senate, by whom Johnson was chosen.

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#### CHAPTER XII—VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.

511. How long was Van Buren president ?

Four years; from 1837 to 1841.

512. What financial crisis occurred during this administration ?

The panic of 1837. It began soon after Van Buren's inauguration and caused great and long continued depression of business.

513. What was the cause and what the occasion of this crisis ?

The cause was doubtless the inflation of prices based on the paper money issued by the banks and the speculative investment of capital in unproductive enterprises. The immediate occasion was the "specie circular" issued near the end of Jackson's administration.

514. What was the purport of this circular and what its effect ?

It ordered the government agents to take nothing but specie in payment for land. This drove bank notes out of circulation at the west and caused their presentation in large quantities for redemption. As a consequence many banks were forced to suspend and a panic was the natural result.

515. How did this affect the government ?

The government found the state banks in which the treasury funds were deposited unable to meet its demands. To pay current expenses treasury notes were issued, and a new system of government offices, the sub-treasuries, was established for the custody of the treasury surplus.

516. What effect did the panic have on the states ?

It reduced their income and made it so difficult to pay their debts that some of the states repudiated their bonds, and took refuge behind the eleventh constitutional amendment that prevented a suit being brought against them in the federal courts.

517. How had the slavery question come into prominence at this time ?

The zeal and the increasing numbers of the abolition party at the north both angered and alarmed the slave holders. There was no immediate danger of legislative attacks on slavery in the Southern States, but slavery in the territories, in the district of Columbia, on the high seas or even in transportation from state to state, was subject to congressional action, and there seemed a possibility of vexatious regulations. Moreover, the abolitionists were believed to be ready to incite the negroes to run away or even to revolt and attack their masters.

518. How did the southerners deal with the agitation ?

They effectually suppressed it in the southern states, and they demanded that the northerners also should suppress it by arresting and punishing the chief agitators.

519. How did the northerners look at the matter ?

At first with indifference, as a matter that did not concern them. The question, however, became a political one, and though there was still little sympathy with the cause of abolition, there was serious and angry discussion as to whether the abolitionists should be interfered with or not. Local efforts were made to break up anti-slavery meetings and these in some places ended in rioting and bloodshed. (The murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy, an abolitionist preacher at Alton, Ill., and the wrecking of Pennsylvania Hall, in Philadelphia, where abolition meetings were held, were among the most serious disturbances.)

520. What was the contest over the right of petition ?

Many petitions against slavery had been sent to congress, and these had given cause for angry debate. Congress, therefore decided not to listen to or discuss any petition relating in any way to the slavery question. The struggle to induce congress to revoke this order was led by Ex-President John Quincy Adams. It lasted four years, and aroused much angry feeling. Finally the right of petition was allowed and the obnoxious order revoked.

521. What was the "patriot" rebellion in Canada and how did it concern the United States ?

In 1837, there was a rebellion against the British government in Canada. The people of the United States sympathized with the Canadian rebels, and bands were formed to go over and help them. President Van Buren warned these bands that they were breaking the law in thus engaging in war on a friendly nation, and guards were established to prevent their

crossing the line. The Canadian rebellion was soon suppressed and the trouble came to an end.

522. What was the trouble over the boundary of Maine ?

The northeastern boundary of Maine was disputed by New Brunswick. Forts were built and troops sent to the frontier under Gen. Winfield Scott. These were necessary not only to maintain our rights against the Canadians, but also to keep the peace between people of Maine and those of New Brunswick. (The question was settled by treaty in 1842.)

523. What was the trouble about the Mormons that began during this administration ?

The good people of Missouri and Illinois were grieved by the pretensions and practice of the Mormons and their leader, the prophet Joseph Smith. A Mormon settlement near Independence, Mo., was broken up by mobs; it then removed to Nauvoo, Ill., where it was attacked in 1844 and Joseph Smith killed. The Mormons then removed to Utah.

524. What invention was made about this time ?

In 1839 Goodyear took out his patent for "vulcanized" rubber, a process by which India rubber could be made hard and molded.

525. What other great industry was started in this year ?

The first express company—running between Boston and New York. (It was a new scheme, devised by W. F. Harneden.)

526. Who were the nominees in the presidential campaign of 1840 ?

The Democrats renominated Van Buren and Johnson. The Whigs put up Gen. Wm. H. Harrison of Indiana, and John Tyler of Virginia. The abolitionists also put up candidates, but these secured only a small vote.

529. What political principles were involved ?

The Democratic convention adopted its first "platform", in the shape of a series of resolutions. The Whigs nominated Harrison without platform, on the general ground of opposition to Jacksonian Democracy. Considering this, and the fact that the Whigs made the campaign almost altogether on Harrison's personal superiority to his opponent, it may be said that there were no political principles involved in the campaign.

528. What was the nature of the Democratic platform ?



It consisted of nine resolutions, affirming the limitation of the federal authority and declaring against (1) international improvements; (2) a protective tariff; (3) any United States bank; and (4) any interference with the state institution of slavery. The 9th resolution denounced the then incipient know-nothingism that sought to abridge the privilege of naturalization.

529. Why is this platform especially memorable ?

Both because it was the first of its kind, and because it formed the basis of the Democratic platform up to 1860. Each national convention of that party reaffirmed the platform of its predecessor without material change, simply adding resolutions upon the current issues as they arose.

530. What was the platform of the abolition party in this year ?

It favored the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia and in the territories; also the prohibition of interstate slave-trade, and general opposition to slavery to the full extent of constitutional power.

531. What was the result of the election ?

The victory of the Whig party, their candidates, Harrison and Tyler, securing 234 of the 294 electoral votes.

532. What can you say of the successful candidates ?

Wm. H. Harrison was born in Virginia in 1773. He became a captain in the United States army and settled in the Northwest territory in 1797. Was governor of Indiana territory in 1801-13, and as major general in the army took a prominent part in the war of 1812. After that he went to congress as representative and as senator, and in 1828-29, was sent as minister to Colombia. John Tyler was a citizen of Virginia, where he was born in 1790; had served in both houses of congress and as governor of his state. He was an ardent state sovereignty Democrat, a supporter of the Nullificationists of South Carolina and was a Whig only in his opposition to Gen. Jackson. He was nominated to catch the southern vote, the Whigs having no principles except that of a revolt against Jackson.

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#### CHAPTER XIII.—HARRISON'S AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

533. How long was Harrison president?

Only about a month. He died April 6, 1841, and was succeeded by Vice President Tyler.

534. How long did Tyler hold the office?

Till the end of the term in 1845. There was no attempt to renominate him, as his party were greatly dissatisfied with his administration.

535. What was the ground of complaint against him?

That, being elected by the Whigs, he betrayed the trust of his party in not forwarding the measures desired by them. Harrison had summoned a special session of congress to consider the financial condition of the country. This congress wished to establish a new United States bank and passed a bill chartering one. President Tyler vetoed the bill, pointing out certain faults in it. These were remedied, and the bill again passed, but the president still interposed his veto. A quarrel began which completely alienated the president and his party.

536. How did the Whigs show their indignation?

The Whig leaders, whom Harrison had called to his cabinet, resigned, rather than serve under Tyler. Webster alone retained his office—that of secretary of state—and he remained from no sympathy with Tyler, but from a desire to complete his treaty negotiations with England. When they were done, he also resigned. In congress the Whig majority denounced the president and opposed him on every opportunity.

537. How long did this state of things last?

For two years; at the next election, the Democrats got a majority, and these, though they had no love for Tyler, had no reason to hate him.

538. What important legislation was effected during the Whig supremacy?

A general bankruptcy law was passed, to relieve the host of insolvent debtors caused by business depression. A protective tariff—averaging over 32 per cent—was established, and an impetus was thus given to favored lines of manufacture.

539. What was the result?

The result proved disastrous. Capitalists seem to have plunged into manufacture depending wholly on government favor. When the protective tariff was withdrawn—as it was in 1846, by the Democrats—the fostered interests collapsed like soap bubbles.

540. What was the subject of Webster's treaty negotiations with England?

The business that kept Webster in the cabinet was the settlement of our northern boundary question. In 1842 he concluded a treaty—called the Ashburton treaty, from the name of the British minister—that settled the northeast boundary line of Maine, and the northern boundary from Lake Huron to the Rocky Mountains. An extradition treaty was also negotiated.

541. What was the nature of the extradition treaty?

It was the first treaty of the kind negotiated by our government. By it a criminal escaping from one country to the other was to be arrested and sent back for trial. (Only the most serious crimes were mentioned as justifying extradition.)

542. What was the chief political question of Tyler's administration?

The proposal to annex Texas, and thus add to the territory from which, according to the Missouri compromise, new slave states could be formed.

543. To whom did Texas belong?

Texas was at this time an independent state. The territory was originally explored by Spain and was claimed by that country as a part of Mexico. The United States also claimed it as a part of the Louisiana purchase. When Florida was purchased, the United States, as a partial consideration, withdrew its claims to Texas. Mexico became independent and Texas, organized as a state by American settlers, became a member of the Mexican union, from which she seceded in 1835.

544. What was the cause of the secession?

A desire to join the American union, and dissatisfaction with the government of Mexico, which was usually that of a military dictator who had seized on the government by revolution.

545. Were they permitted to secede peaceably?

No; the Mexicans sent an army to subdue them, but the Texans under Gen. Houston defeated it at San Jacinto, and thus forced Mexico to withdraw from the territory, though she still refused to acknowledge the independence of Texas. In order to insure their independence and to protect themselves against marauding attacks from Mexico, the Texans sought admission to the American union.

546. What objection was made to the admission of Texas?

The admission was favored by the southern Democrats from the first; the northern Democrats objected to it and the Whig

party opposed it as likely to lead to war with Mexico, By concerted agreement, Clay and Van Buren, the leaders of the Whig and Democratic parties respectively, published letters opposing the annexation. It was also their plan to exclude the issue from the coming presidential campaign. President Tyler, however, was in favor of the admission, and skillfully managed to make the question a test one and forced the Democratic leaders to endorse it.

547. Who was his chief assistant in this work ?

John C. Calhoun, who became secretary of state during the latter part of Tyler's administration.

548. How did they manage matters ?

Tyler had negotiated a treaty of annexation, but congress refused to ratify it and provide for the admission of the new state. Calhoun quickly convinced the slave states that it was for their interest that Texas should be added to the union. Hence, when Van Buren declared against annexation, the south opposed his nomination and defeated it. James K. Polk, a southern man, was nominated on a platform demanding the admission of Texas.

549. How did the question affect the political campaign ?

It undoubtedly secured the election of Polk. Clay was induced by his southern friends to withdraw his opposition to the annexation, and thus offend the northern Whigs, many of whom voted for the abolition candidates. Clay lost the state of New York and with it the election.

550. What was the effect of this victory ?

The congress that had refused its assent to the Texas treaty changed front, and the annexation was accomplished.

551. What state was admitted during Tyler's administration ?

Florida was admitted early in 1845. (Texas was annexed, but not admitted till after Polk's inauguration.) Florida was acquired from Spain in 1819. It was first settled at St. Augustine in 1565—the first settlement in our territory, by the way—and at the date of its admission contained something over 30,000 inhabitants.

551. Whence the name of this state ?

It was so called by the Spaniards because discovered on Easter Day—*Pascua Florida*, the "feast of flowers." At first the name was applied to the coast of the Gulf states and to the south Atlantic coast as well. Though circumscribed by the formation of other states, it claimed an extension along the

coast to the Mississippi, and it was the settlement of these conflicting boundary questions that made its acquisition seem so desirable.

552. What was the "Dorr rebellion?"

It was an illegal movement in Rhode Island to secure a new constitution with extended suffrage. In 1841 the common people, excluded from the suffrage in Rhode Island, formed a constitution and elected Thomas William Dorr governor. Dorr attempted to act the part assigned him, but was arrested by the authorized state government, tried for and convicted of treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. He was, however, pardoned in 1854, and in a few years the desired change in the constitution was peaceably effected.

553. What was the "anti-rent" agitation in New York?

Many New York farmers held their lands on long leases, dating back to the Dutch settlement of the country. These were legally simple leases, but they were regarded by the tenants as copyhold grants, entitling them to perpetual ownership at fixed rent. Discovering the legal weakness of their position, the tenants began an agitation against the payment of rents, claiming to own their lands in fee. Armed conflicts occurred, and the state militia were called out to keep the peace.

554. How was the matter settled?

Popular sympathy was with the tenants, and the landlords were forced to sell them the land at low prices and so matters finally adjusted themselves.

555. What development of mineral wealth occurred during this administration?

The Indians gave up the country along Lake Superior, and copper mines began to be opened there, so that the extent and richness of the mineral wealth of this section became generally known.

556. What great invention was perfected at this time?

The electro-magnetic telegraph, invented by Samuel F. B. Morse, and patented by him in 1837, was tested in 1844. The first line, from Washington to Baltimore, was constructed at government expense under an appropriation made by congress in 1843.

557. Who were the candidates in the presidential election of 1844?

For president and vice-president the Whigs nominated Henry Clay and Theodore Frehinghuysen of New York. Ex-



President Van Buren had a majority in the Democratic convention at Baltimore, Md., but the rules of the convention required a two-thirds vote to nominate, and this the opposition of the south made impossible. James K. Polk of Tennessee and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania were the nominees. The Liberty party again put up James G. Birney and Thomas Morris on an abolition platform.

558. What were the platforms ?

The Whig convention offered but a single brief resolution defining its position in politics. The Democrats reiterated their former platform and endorsed the Texas annexation and Oregon occupation schemes. The Liberty party formulated an extensive and comprehensive platform to show its stand on all the questions of the day.

559. What was the result of the election ?

Of the 275 electoral votes, Polk and Dallas received 170 and Clay and Frelinghuysen 105.

560. What can you say of the successful candidates ?

Mr. Polk was born in North Carolina in 1795 but in early life removed to Tennessee, where he became a lawyer and Democratic politician. He served in congress fourteen years and as governor of his state four years. (He served one term as president and died three months after leaving office in 1849.) George Mifflin Dallas was born at Philadelphia in 1792. He had served as senator from his state and as minister to St. Petersburg.

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#### CHAPTER XIV.—POLK'S ADMINISTRATION.

561. How long was Mr. Polk president ?

Four years; from 1845 to 1849.

562. What was the chief event of this administration ?

The war with Mexico, and the acquisition thereby of the southwestern section of the United States.

563. What was the origin of the Mexican war ?

The annexation of Texas, which was still claimed by Mexico as a part of her territory. Also the fact that the western boundary of Texas was disputed and the United States was determined to maintain the claims of Texas.

564. State the ground of dispute.

A long strip of territory, lying northeast of the Rio Grande,

originally formed the province of Coahuila in the Mexican Republic. Afterward it was joined to the state of Texas, but when Texas seceded and was joined to the United States, Mexico held that the province of Coahuila of necessity reverted to its original owners. Mexico therefore claimed that a line running up the Neuces river—and thence northwest to the Rocky mountains—formed the boundary of Texas.

565. Did the United States respect this claim?

No; had it done so, war might have been avoided. Determined to sustain the claim of Texas to the province of Coahuila, President Polk ordered Gen. Taylor to advance his army of occupation to the Rio Grande river.

566. What was the result of this move?

As was anticipated, the result was a collision between American and Mexican troops. The Mexicans attacked a scouting party, killing several and capturing the others. Congress, however, immediately resolved that "war existed by the act of Mexico."

567. What was the date of this declaration?

May 13, 1846. Two battles had already been fought—that at Palo Alto, May 8, and that of Resaca de la Palma, May 9, but the news had not reached Washington.

568. What was the result of these battles?

The defeat of the Mexican army and its retreat across the Rio Grande. (Gen. Taylor had about 2000 men; the Mexican commander had two or three times that number, but they were untrained and inefficiently armed and equipped.)

569. Was any attempt made to close the war with the expulsion of the Mexicans from the disputed territory?

No; congress voted supplies and authorized the enlistment of 50,000 men to carry on war with Mexico. The Whig party in and out of congress declared that war existed by the act of the United States and not by the act of Mexico, but they voted to continue the war just the same.

570. What was the first object in the war with Mexico?

The conquest of Upper Mexico, then including all of the country south of the Oregon line and west of the Rocky Mountains. A fleet sent to the Pacific coast, aided by a land force under Col. Fremont, the explorer of Oregon, conquered the few Mexican settlements in California during the summer of 1846, and an overland expedition at the same time took possession of New Mexico. This expedition also marched

southward into Mexico and captured the city of Chihuahua.

571. What was the next movement?

An invasion of Mexico by Gen Taylor, from his post in Texas near the mouth of the Rio Grande. He captured the city of Monterey, and defeated the Mexicans in a pitched battle at Buena Vista, and thus secured possession of northeastern Mexico.

572. What change of plan was then made?

Early in 1847, an expedition was sent under Gen. Scott to Vera Cruz and thence to the city of Mexico. With about 12,000 men Scott took Vera Cruz and fought the battle of Cerro Gordo in March and April, 1847. Then he halted at Pueblo until August, when he again moved forward and, after an unbroken series of victories, captured the city of Mexico, Sept. 14, 1847.

573. Did this end the war?

Yes; there was some guerrilla warfare afterward, and a treaty of peace was not signed until the next year, but the war virtually ended with the surrender of Mexico.

574. When was the treaty of peace signed, and what were its provisions?

Feb. 2, 1848, at the village of Guadalupe Hidalgo, a treaty was signed whereby the United States extorted from Mexico, as the price of peace, the cession of all of her northern territory. A bonus of \$15,000,000 was granted her, and debts said to be due from Mexico to citizens of this country to the amount of \$3,000,000, were assumed by the United States government, but these concessions in no way reconciled the Mexicans to the loss of their territory.

475. On what grounds was this seizure of territory justifiable?

On utilitarian grounds. The country was destined to be settled by emigrants from the states and from Europe. We have every reason to suppose that these settlers would have rebelled, like Texas, against Mexican rule, and sought annexation to the union, or independence, perhaps, under European protection. Permanent peace was therefore better assured by the transfer of the territory to the United States.

576. What was known of the value of the country thus acquired?

Nothing was known or suspected of its mineral wealth, and only the Pacific coast now included in California, was thought to be of value for agriculture.

577. How was the territorial acquisition desirable from a political point of view?

The acquisition was sought, from the first, as a measure of reinforcement to the southern slave-holders, opening, as it did, new territory to settlement by them, and offering the hope of new slave states, that would perpetuate the equality of power in the senate heretofore maintained. From a party point of view, however, the Mexican conquest was not advantageous to the Democratic party, since its immediate result was a victory for their political opponents.

538. How did this happen?

It grew not from any opposition to the war or to the depopulation of Mexico, but from an aversion on the part of the north to the extension of slavery. Except in New England, the Mexican war was enthusiastically supported at the north, and the Whig candidate for president in 1848 was a successful general. Yet the anti-slavery sentiment was strong, and the proposal to exclude slavery from the newly acquired territory was received with favor.

579. What was the Wilmot Proviso?

It was a condition attached to a vote of two million dollars, to be applied at the discretion of the president in securing a cession of territory from Mexico. This measure was proposed by President Polk in a special message three months after the declaration of war. The house granted the money, but on the motion of David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, attached a proviso that it should be "an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from Mexico, that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist therein."

580. What was the effect of this proviso?

It prevented the passage of the bill by the senate. Congress, however, at its next session, made an unconditional appropriation of three millions for the purchase of territory, so that Mr. Wilmot's motion seemed to have failed, yet it rallied the north in favor of the restriction of slavery, and so aided in the defeat of the pro-slavery Democrats.

581. Was any further attempt made to exclude slavery from the Mexican cession?

No; the senate ratified the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and the house voted the \$15,000,000 demanded by it, without any attempt to raise the question of slavery. Mexico, in ced-

ing the territory, proposed the exclusion of slavery from it, but the proposal was scouted by the American government. (The territory had, of course, been "free" under Mexican rule. Texas had revolted, partly to become a slave state.)

582. What was the "Oregon question?"

The question whether Oregon belonged to the United States or Great Britain was raised early in the century. In 1818, an agreement was made for a joint occupation for ten years, and in 1827 the joint occupation was prolonged for an indefinite period. In 1846 the United States withdrew from the agreement, claiming the territory on the Pacific coast "between latitude 42 degrees and 54 degrees 40 minutes."

583. How did this settlement become an issue in the campaign of 1844?

The Democratic party declared our right to the Oregon country northward to 54:40 undisputable, and pledged themselves to maintain it, by force of arms if necessary. "Fifty-four, forty or fight," was one of the campaign cries that secured the election of Polk.

584. Was the declaration a sincere one?

No; the country was in no way prepared to fight England for the possession of a territory with which it had no means of communication. Even while the clamor for 54:40 was raised, the Secretary of State (Mr. Calhoun) was secretly negotiating a settlement on the forty-ninth parallel as the northern boundary of Oregon.

585. Why was a speedy settlement desired?

To prepare the country for a war with Mexico. The South cared little for Oregon, and Mr. Calhoun desired only a prompt and honorable settlement of the question.

586. What stand did President Polk take on this question?

In his inaugural address he reiterated the Democratic demand with respect to the northwestern boundary, yet when the matter came to a test, he receded from his position and advised a compromise.

587. When and how was the matter settled?

In 1846, by a treaty with Great Britain, in which the forty-ninth parallel was accepted as the boundary between the possessions of the two countries west of the Rocky Mountains.

588. What was the basis of our claims to Oregon?



We claimed it as the natural extension of the Louisiana purchase (though not strictly included therein) and also on the ground that the country had been first explored by Lewis and Clarke—both American citizens. Still another claim grew out of the rapid settlement of the country by immigrants from the states during the period of joint occupation.

589. How did the Oregon settlement affect American politics?

It discomfited the Democratic party at the north, where the party leaders were taunted with their pusillanimous surrender to Great Britain. (The nomination of Gen. Cass, an enthusiastic supporter of the 54:40 boundary claim, and one who bitterly opposed the treaty of 1846, was an attempt to placate the northern Democracy.)

590. What states were admitted during Polk's administration?

Texas, Iowa, and Wisconsin. (Texas was annexed during Tyler's administration, but her admission to the Union was effected in 1845 after Polk was inaugurated.)

591. Whence the name of Texas?

The name is first recorded by LaSalle in 1687. It was originally a word of welcome of Spanish or Indian derivation, signifying "we are friends." The name was applied to the inhabitants and to the country.\*

592. When was Iowa admitted to the Union?

In 1846. Iowa was the fourth state formed from the Louisiana purchase. The country was first settled permanently after the Black Hawk war in 1832, through Dubuque is said to have been founded by a French Canadian of that name in 1788. The population of Iowa in 1840 was 43,112.

593. Whence the name of this state?

Iowa is a French form of a nick-name given by the Sioux to the Pahoja tribe. It signifies "the sleepy ones."

594. When was Wisconsin admitted as a state?

In 1848. It was the fifth and last state formed from the North-west Territory. It had been settled by the French at

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\*A jest—current forty years since,—gave a pretended derivation from the following couplet, in which the idea of "Welcome" is curiously preserved:

"When every other land rejects us,  
This is the land that freely takes us."

several points on the lakes, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. After the Black Hawk war of 1832 it was thrown open to settlement, and in 1840 it had over 30,000 inhabitants.

595. How did it take its name?

From the Wisconsin river, said to have been named by Marquette "Masconsin—wild, rushing channel." The name was changed to Ouisconsin and then to the present form.

596. What were the chief inventions patented during Polk's administration?

The sewing machine, patented by Elias Howe in 1846, and the Hoe cylinder printing press, patented by R. M. Hoe in 1847.

597. What advance was made in surgery?

Ether began to be used to produce unconsciousness, and so both the pain and the danger of surgical operations were diminished. Ether was first used by Dr. Morton of Boston, in 1846.

598. What notable institutions were founded?

A naval school was founded by the government at Annapolis, Md., in 1845. The Smithsonian Institution was founded in Washington in 1846, under a legacy left to the government for that purpose by James Smithson, an eminent English chemist and philanthropist who died in 1824. (The legacy, amounting to \$515,000 was paid over to the United States in 1838, to be used in establishing an institution "For the increase and diffusion of knowledge amongst men.")

599. What executive department was organized in the national government?

The department of the interior, established by act of congress early in 1849. It was composed of bureaus taken from the state and treasury departments. The cabinet had not been increased since the formation of the navy department in 1798. The first secretary of the interior was Thomas Ewing of Ohio, appointed in 1849 by President Taylor.

600. Who were the candidates in the presidential election of 1848?

The Democratic candidates were Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for president, and Wm. O. Butler, of Kentucky, for vice-president. The Whigs nominated Gen. Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore. The Free Soil Democrats nominated Ex-

president Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts.

601. Who were the Free Soil Democrats?

Northern Democrats who sought the restriction of slavery to the states in which it already existed, and the preservation of the territories for free labor, unburdened by competition with that of slaves. The party also included most of the Liberty or Abolition party and not a few anti-slavery Whigs.

602. Was this new party successful?

No; it polled less than 300,000 votes all told. Yet since Van Buren to some extent retained his hold on the New York Democrats, the Free Soil movement defeated Cass and Butler in that state, and the Whigs secured the vote of New York and with it the presidency.

603. What was the electoral vote?

Taylor and Fillmore received 163 votes; Cass and Butler 157 votes.

604. What can you say of the successful candidates?

Zachary Taylor was born in Virginia in 1784. He was appointed lieutenant in the army in 1808 and served in the war of 1812 and in various Indian wars, rising to the rank of major general. His victories in the Mexican war made him famous and led to his nomination and election. Millard Fillmore, born in 1800, was at the time of his nomination a New York lawyer who had served two terms in congress and one term as state comptroller. He was an able, but in no way a distinguished man.

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#### CHAPTER XY.—TAYLOR'S AND FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

605. How long was Taylor president?

Only a little over fifteen months; he was inaugurated in March, 1849, and died July 9, 1850.

606. Who succeeded him?

Vice President Fillmore succeeded to the presidency, which he held till the end of the term in 1853.

607. What was the chief event of Taylor's administration?

The adoption of the compromise of 1850, which postponed for ten years a collision between the north and south on the slavery question.

608. What was the nature of the crisis?

Owing to the discovery of gold in California in 1848, that country had been rapidly settled and the question of its admission as a state was forced upon the attention of congress. The south claimed it, under the Missouri compromise, as slave territory; but the majority of the citizens of the new state wished to exclude slavery, and in this desire they were encouraged by the Whigs and Abolitionists of the northern states. Further cause of complaint was found in the aid given to runaway slaves making their escape across the northern states to Canada. The proposition to forbid the sale of slaves in the District of Columbia was considered a step toward the prohibition of slavery in the District and the territories. The south, embittered by these evidences of hostility to her peculiar institution, was ready to secede from the union.

609. How was the trouble averted?

By a compromise arranged by Henry Clay. In May, 1850, the difficult questions affecting slavery were in the senate all referred to a single committee, of which he was chairman. This committee reported an "omnibus," or general, bill covering all the points in dispute, thus offering a comprehensive settlement that the majority of both parties might be willing to accept.

610. What was the Texas boundary dispute, and how was the slavery question involved?

Texas claimed a part of New Mexico, and to facilitate a legal settlement of the dispute, the Whigs proposed to admit New Mexico as a state. This, of course, raised the question of slavery.

611. What were the provisions of the compromise bill?

California was admitted (on her own request) without slavery; Texas was granted \$10,000,000 in payment for her New Mexican lands, and territorial governments were provided for the Mexican cession, without raising the question of slavery. Slave-holding was sanctioned in the District of Columbia, but the buying and selling of slaves therein was forbidden, and finally a new fugitive slave law was proposed.

612. Was Mr. Clay's bill passed?

Not in its original form; the compromise was accepted and the bills passed separately.

613. Politically considered, how was this period notable?

It was notable on account of the decline in the Whig party which lost nearly all its southern members by desertion. It

leadership of both the old parties. During four years Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Polk and Taylor died, and numbers of political leaders of minor reputation retired from public life. This contributed to the decline of the Whig party, for the new men of note from the north were pronounced opponents of slavery, like Seward, Chase and Sumner.

614. How long was Fillmore president?

From July, 1850, to March, 1853. There was no prospect of his renomination by the Whig party, but other parties took him up. In 1856 he was nominated for the presidency by the "American" or know-nothing party, but was, of course, defeated.

615. What state was admitted to the union during his administration?

California; admitted in 1850. This state was considered almost worthless territory at the time of its conquest by the United States in 1846, but the discovery of gold in 1848, and the later development of its agricultural resources have placed it in the front rank in point of prosperity.

616. Whence the name of this state?

It was the name given by Cortez to the peninsula of Lower California. It is said to be taken from an old romance in which it was applied to an imaginary island of the Indies, very rich in precious metals.

617. What were the means of communication with California?

California could be reached either by a long overland journey on horseback or in emigrant wagons, or by a long sea voyage around Cape Horn. A railroad across the isthmus of Panama was projected, but it was not completed until 1855. Congress, in 1853, ordered a survey for a route for a Pacific railway, but the road was not begun for twelve years.

618. What was the "Maine Law" of 1851?

A state law to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the state of Maine. It was the first experiment of the kind on the part of a state of our union.

619. Who were the presidential candidates in the campaign of 1852?

The Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce and Wm. R. King. The Whigs, Gen. Winfield Scott and Wm. A. Graham. The Free Soil Democrats put up John P. Hale of New Hampshire and George W. Julian of Indiana.



620. What were the principles involved in the campaign?

The Democrats reasserted their party views with a general demand of "justice toward slave-holders." The Whigs stood by the compromise of 1850, and for that reason endorsed the fugitive slave law, thus giving great offense to the anti-slavery men at the north. At the south, the slavery question had driven most of the Whigs into the Democratic party, but the Whig leaders at the north would not give up the hope of regaining favor in that section. The Free Soil party comprised the most pronounced anti-slavery men of the old parties.

621. What was the result of the election?

A triumphant victory for the Democrats, and overwhelming defeat for the Whigs. The Free Soilers, too, polled a greatly diminished vote. Pierce and King received 254 electoral votes and Scott and Graham but 42.

622. What can you say of the successful candidates?

Pierce was a native of New Hampshire, where he was born in 1804. He was a party leader in congress and had become a brigadier general by service in the army during the Mexican war. King had become prominent by long and creditable service in both houses of congress, but he was an old man, in feeble health, and died before he could be installed as vice-president.

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#### CHAPTER XVI.—PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

623. How long was Pierce president?

One term of four years only; from March, 1853, to March, 1857.

624. What was the chief political event of this administration?

The repeal or nullification of the Missouri compromise of 1820. This was important, not only in itself, but also in its effect on the peace of the union.

625. What was the state of feeling between north and south?

The compromise of 1850 had restored peace, and there was a general feeling that further agitation of the slavery question should be condemned. This desire for peace had influenced the people in the election, and the overwhelming victory of the Democrats was taken as a guarantee that the truce would be observed. For about a year a new "era of good feeling" seemed to have begun.

626. Was this cordiality sincere?

No; it was but an armistice. The causes of strife still existed, and the two sections feared and distrusted, even if they did not hate, each other. Even the religious denominations—with the exception of Protestant Episcopalians and Roman Catholics—had divided into churches north and south.

627. What broke the truce between north and south?

The desire of the pro-slavery party to profit by its majority in congress. In the compromise of 1850, the anti-slavery party, taking advantage of its majority, had forced the south to agree to admit California as a free state and to leave the question of slavery in the rest of the Mexican cession open—to be determined by the settlers in the territories. The pro-slavery party, coming into power, not unnaturally felt itself justified in applying the "free choice" principle to all the territories, and demanded that the question of slavery should in each territory be decided by a popular vote of the settlers organizing the territorial government.

628. Who was the chief exponent of this popular sovereignty doctrine?

Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois. He was the leader of the Democratic party at the North, and being an earnest believer in the right of the people to manage their own affairs, he proposed—instead of a new compromise which many thought necessary—an absolute renunciation, on the part of congress, of the right to interfere in the case of slavery in the territories.

629. How was the "popular sovereignty" idea received by the people?

With favor by the south, and with disfavor by the north. In neither case was its reception altogether sincere; the north would have denied the right of congress to force slavery on any state, and the south would not have scrupled to use the federal authority to forward its ends, had the opportunity offered.

630. Ignoring the moral question as to slavery extension, was Douglas's proposal a fair one?

As between the parties, yes. It was, however, an unwise suggestion. It enabled congress to avoid the responsibility of a decision, but it gave occasion for strife and bloodshed in Kansas, the territory then under dispute.

631. How did Douglas proceed to carry out his plan?

He introduced a bill—which passed May 30, 1854—for the

organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. By this bill, the Missouri compromise of March 6, 1820, was declared to be inoperative and void, because "inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by congress with slavery in the states and territories, as recognized by the compromise measures of 1850."

632. What was the declared intent and purpose of the bill?

The bill declared that its "true intent and meaning was not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, and not to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people perfectly free to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way."

633. What followed as a result of the passage of this bill?

Both north and south made vigorous efforts to secure the territories for their respective parties. Emigrants were assisted and encouraged by those of their political party. Kansas was the territory best suited to slavery, and the slave-holders hoped to secure it by sending thither large colonies of pro-slavery settlers.

634. Had they succeeded, what would have been the result?

Probably the restoration of the "balance of power" political system. With two additional votes in the senate, the south could have blocked any movement to increase the preponderance of the free states. The territories would have been divided, probably, and the slave owner set free from any fear of federal attacks on his property in slaves.

635. How did the struggle affect politics in the northern states?

It rallied the anti-slavery party and led to the election of an "anti-Nebraska" majority in the house of representatives.

636. What new party was organized by the "anti-Nebraska" men?

The Republican party. The purpose of the political organization was the exclusion of slavery from the territories north of the Missouri compromise line, but it also took a stand on other political questions. Generally speaking, it inherited the doctrines of the Whig party, except the one of non-interference with slavery.

637. What other new party sprang up at this time?

The "American" party. It sought to create a diversion from the slavery question, by raising objections to the immigration and naturalization of foreigners. It especially sought the exclusion of foreign-born Roman Catholics from office.

638. How was this party organized?

In a manner peculiar to itself. An order or secret society was organized, with lodges in all friendly communities. All proceedings in these lodges were held secret under oath, and even the members professed to know nothing of the order. Hence the new party were nick-named the "know-nothings," a term which still survives to apply to those would restrict the privileges of foreign-born citizens.

639. How did the slavery question affect our foreign relations at this time?

It prompted schemes for the acquisition of more territory that could be used to organize new slave states. Cuba, Nicaragua and the Sandwich Islands were among the coveted possessions.

640. What attempts were made to secure Cuba?

Several filibustering expeditions were sent out—by private citizens—to conquer Cuba, organize it as an independent state and apply for its admission to the union. These came to nothing, the designs of the conspirators being foiled by the vigilance of the Spanish government of the islands. The United States government then offered to buy Cuba at a good round price, but Spain refused to sell it.

641. What was the Ostend circular?

In 1854, the three leading United States ministers in Europe met at Ostend, Belgium, and formulated a circular or general letter, to the effect that the possession of Cuba was becoming a necessity to United States, and that Spain, being unable to govern the island, could not hope to long retain it. (The circular was an ill-disguised threat that the United States if not allowed to buy the island would take it by force.)

642. How was the circular regarded at the north?

With proper indignation, as a measure to reinforce the slave states. (In 1856, when James Buchanan,—who, as minister to England, had joined in issuing the circular—was running for president, the Republican platform denounced "the highwayman's plea, that might makes right, as embodied in Ostend circular.")

643. What other country was assailed by filibusters?

Central America. Adventurers from the United States aided rebellions in Nicaragua and neighboring states, with the avowed intent of conquering the country and bringing it into the union. The most considerable expedition was one headed

by Gen. Wm. Walker, a southerner, who achieved a temporary success in Nicaragua. (In 1860 Walker was captured and shot by the authorities of the invaded country.)

644. What other complications in our foreign affairs arose during this administration?

A difficulty with Austria in 1853 over the Martin Koszta affair, and the coercion of Japan into agreeing to a commercial treaty.

645. What was the Martin Koszta affair?

Martin Koszta was an Austrian subject who had led a rebellion against the government, and being defeated had fled to America where he had taken steps to become naturalized. In 1853, being in Asia Minor, he was seized by the Turkish authorities and delivered to the commander of an Austrian frigate at Smyrna. He claimed American protection, but Austria at that time denied the right of her subjects to transfer their allegiance to any other government. Capt. Ingraham, then in command of an American man-of-war lying in the harbor of Smyrna, interfered, and by threats forced the surrender of Koszta by the captain of the Austrian vessel.

646. What was the result?

A wrangle between America and Austria over the citizenship of Koszta. Capt. Ingraham was not only upheld by his government, but was specially commended and decorated with a medal. This gave further offense to Austria, but she was eventually forced to concede (as England had done) to the right of her subjects to expatriate themselves.

647. What was achieved by Commodore Perry in Japan?

Japan had hitherto refused to have any dealings with foreign nations. In 1854 Commodore M. C. Perry, sent to the Japan sea to protect American vessels and to demand satisfaction for ill-treatment of American crews on Japanese coasts, forced his way to the capital and induced the government to sign a commercial treaty.

648. What trouble did we have with Great Britain?

In 1855 we complained of the enlistment of troops in this country to fight in the British army in the Crimean war. This led, during the following year, to the dismissal, by the president, of the British minister at Washington and the British consuls at New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati.

649. What boundary trouble did we have with Mexico?

A dispute over the northern boundary of Chihuahua threat-



ened war in 1853. It was settled by the purchase from Mexico of some 45,000 square miles of the territory now included in New Mexico and Arizona. As the treaty—signed Dec. 30, 1853—was negotiated by Gen. James Gadsden, minister to Mexico, the cession is known as the Gadsden Purchase. The price paid was \$10,000,000.

650. What Indian wars occurred during this period?

A war between the settlers and Indians of Washington and Oregon territories. In December, 1855, a desperate battle was fought on the Walla Walla, the town of Seattle was attacked soon afterwards and saved only by the presence of a war ship in the harbor. In the following March the inhabitants of Cascades City were massacred, and hostilities with frequent loss of life prolonged till August, 1856.

651. What was the condition of domestic affairs?

The country was prosperous and in the settled states agitated only by the discussion of the slavery question. The growth of the banking business had so far increased that a clearing house was opened in New York city.

652. What is a clearing-house?

A city bank daily receives, on deposit and for collection, large numbers of checks and drafts on other banks in the same city. For convenience these are sent, not to the banks drawn upon, but to a clearing-house where each bank is daily credited with its claims on other banks and debited with the checks presented against itself, the balance for or against it being paid in money. (Clearing houses are now maintained in all large cities. The business done in the New York house—as the monetary center of the union—exceeds that of any other clearing house in the world.)

653. What other feature of business life originated at this time?

The industrial exhibition. In 1851 there had been held in London a "World's Fair," the first of its kind, and in 1853 a similar exhibition was opened in New York city.

654. What had been done to facilitate transportation?

Railroads extended to the chief cities of the union, and wagon roads and bridges were built so that transportation was greatly facilitated. Some large railroad bridges were built, notably the bridge over the Niagara river in 1848 and over the Mississippi river at Minneapolis in 1856.

655. What was the state of politics in 1856?

The condition of Kansas, which the Kansas-Nebraska bill had made literally a battle ground for the "free or slave state" question, had roused party feeling to its highest pitch. The president sought to satisfy both parties and as a result satisfied neither. Each party approached the campaign of 1856 determined to put forward a thorough-going partisan, who would at least concede nothing to the opposition.

656. Who were the Democratic candidates?

James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge. (Buchanan was considered the best *Northern* candidate, and a Southern man would have had little chance of carrying the Northern Democratic states.)

657. Who did the Republicans nominate?

Gen. John C. Fremont, senator from California, and Wm. L. Dayton, ex-senator from New Jersey.

658. What other candidates were nominated?

The American or Know-nothing party nominated ex-President Fillmore and Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee. These candidates sought the support of both Democrats and Republicans, on the plea that the slavery question should not be made a party one.

659. What was the result of the election?

Buchanan and Breckenridge received 174 of the 296 electoral votes and were elected. Fremont and Dayton received 114 votes all from Northern states. Fillmore and Donelson carried the state of Maryland and received eight electoral votes.

660. What can you say of the successful candidates?

James Buchanan was a native of Pennsylvania, where he was born in 1791; was a lawyer by profession, but had been in public life as congressman, member of the cabinet or foreign minister, since his election to congress in 1821. Breckinridge was a man of 35 (the legal age), a "favorite son" of Kentucky but popular throughout the south.

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#### CHAPTER XVII.—BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

661. What effect did Buchanan's election have on sectional politics?

It tended to promote peace and quietness, as no change was possible for four years. The announcement, however, of the decision of the supreme court in the Dred Scott case, soon roused the fires of sectional animosity, and the disturbances in

Kansas also gave occasion for political dispute and denunciation.

662. What was the Dred Scott case?

Dred Scott, a Missouri negro slave, sued for his freedom and that of his wife, on the ground that they had been taken by their master into Illinois and Wisconsin, and there held as slaves, during a long period of residence, contrary to the state laws.

663. Give the history of the case.

Had Dred Scott sued while still a resident of Illinois, he would have been set free, and the lower court in Missouri, in accordance with common practice, recognized this fact, and decided in favor of the plaintiff. On appeal, the state court reversed the decision, holding that the slaves, by their voluntary return to Missouri, forfeited their rights in the free states, and that Missouri was not bound, even by a spirit of comity, to carry into effect laws that were framed in a spirit of enmity to her own institutions.

664. Did this decision settle the question?

Virtually it did. The case in itself afforded no ground for appeal to the federal supreme court and, whatever might thereafter arise, there was little doubt that the supreme court would accept the decision of the Missouri court as to the status of the slaves under Missouri laws. However, the sale, soon afterward, of Dred Scott and his wife to a citizen of another state, gave apparent ground for suing in a federal court, and—the decision there being adverse—for an appeal to the court at Washington.

665. What was the final decision?

At first the majority of the judges decided to simply confirm the decision of the lower court, on the ground that the decision of the state court was final, and an opinion on this ground was written by Judge Nelson. At a second meeting of the court this mode of dealing with the question was rejected, and March 6, 1857, the appeal of Dred Scott was refused on the ground of non-jurisdiction through constitutional limitation.

666. What prompted the court to do this?

The desire to serve (as it thought) the public by giving a decision concerning the power of congress over slavery. Both parties had pledged themselves to acquiesce in the decision of

the supreme court,\* and the judges erroneously supposed that a voluntary interference would be as readily accepted as one extorted by the necessities of the case under consideration.

667. Summarize the decision.

The court held that the declaration of independence and the constitution of the United States did not include or refer to slaves otherwise than as property, and that, therefore, the right to interfere with slavery had never been delegated to the federal government. That slaves were not, and could not become, (even by emancipation) citizens of the United States, and hence could not sue in its courts. That the personal question as to Dred Scott's freedom had been finally decided by the Missouri court. That the constitution of the United States, recognizing slaves as property only, pledges federal protection to the same as far as the legislative power of congress extends, and that hence all restrictive acts (like the Missouri compromise act of 1820) were unconstitutional, null and void.

668. What became of Dred Scott and his wife?

They were set free May 26, 1857, by the free gift of their new owner, Taylor Blow, Esq. But the principles of the decision were entirely apart from its effect on the individual slaves.

669. How was the decision received?

With applause by the south and with indignation by the north. The Republicans declared the court had shown so great partisan bias that its opinions were not entitled to respect and they proposed to await a more favorable decision. (Once in possession of congress and the presidency, they would be able to influence the court—by the appointment of new judges—or, if necessary, to disregard its opinions.†)

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\*In a speech at Galena, in 1856, Abraham Lincoln answering the argument that the proposed restoration of the Missouri compromise would be "unconstitutional," said : "I grant you that an unconstitutional act is not a law ; but I do not ask, and will not take, your construction of the constitution. The supreme court of the United States is the tribunal to decide such a question, and we will submit to its decisions."

†"The Dred Scott decision received no respect after Lincoln became president, and without reversal by the court was utterly disregarded. When President Lincoln, in 1861, authorized the denial of the right of *habeas corpus* to persons arrested on the charge of treason, Chief Justice Taney delivered an opinion in the case of John Merryman, denying the president's power to suspend the writ, declaring that congress only was competent to do it. The executive department paid no attention to the decision, and congress, at the ensuing session, added its sanction to the suspension."—BLAINE'S "*Twenty Years of Congress*," p. 137.

670. What was the political effect of the decision?

It increased the power of the Republicans at the North, and so far weakened the Northern Democrats that they hesitated to endorse the decision lest their chances of carrying elections should be diminished. The attempt of Douglas and his followers to modify and explain away the offensive points of the Dred Scott decision, led to an open breach between the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic party. This breach was widened by the action of Northern Democrats in opposing the policy of the administration in dealing with Kansas.

671. What was the policy of the administration?

To afford protection to slavery in Kansas and, as a party measure, to encourage the territory to become a slave state. President Pierce had appointed, in succession, three Northern Democrats to be governor of the territory, but these had failed to maintain order. Buchanan chose Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, ex-secretary of the treasury, and a man of great influence with the party. The purpose of the appointment was to secure a fair settlement of the question, according to the wishes of the majority of the settlers of Kansas.

672. Was such a fair settlement made?

No; the administration found (to its surprise) that on a fair vote Kansas was opposed to slavery. (This was but natural. Slave owners generally hesitated to risk the loss of their slaves by taking them to Kansas. Hence the bonafide emigration from the slave states was greatly lessened, and the pro-slavery party felt that the race for settlement was not a fair one.)

673. Under the circumstances, what could the slave-holders hope to do?

They hoped, by fair means or foul, to establish slavery laws and maintain them long enough to encourage emigration from the south, and discourage or drive away settlers from the north. While there was probably no conspiracy in express terms, there was a tacit understanding that this was to be the party policy, and the president seems to have consented to it. Gov. Walker, however, refused to countenance the proceeding and resigned his office.

674. What was the Lecompton constitution?

Rival legislatures existed in Kansas, and the pro-slavery party called a constitutional convention at Lecompton in 1857. The proceeding was considered illegal and the free-



state men generally ignored it. The result was the framing and adoption by the people (or, at least, by the pro-slavery men who voted) of a constitution authorizing slavery.

675. Was the state admitted with this constitution?

No; the president recommended its admission and the bill therefore passed the senate, but, owing to the bolt of the Northern Democrats, it failed to pass the house. Senator Douglas fiercely opposed it as a violation of the right of the territory to settle the slavery question for themselves.

676. What was Douglas's attitude toward the Kansas question?

He had at first maintained the right of the territory to exclude slavery by law—in accordance with the "Squatter Sovereignty" doctrine. The Dred Scott decision denied this right to the territory, and Douglas, while nominally accepting the decision, adroitly evaded it by declaring that Kansas could still exclude slavery by "unfriendly legislation."

677. What did he mean by "unfriendly legislation?"

He said that the constitutional right to hold slaves in a territory must, to be effective, be supported by police regulations and local legislation, and these the territorial government might either grant or withhold, according to the wish of a majority of the people. As might have been expected, this "Freeport doctrine" as it was called, was denounced at the south, where the duty of congress to protect the slave-holder in the territories was generally believed in.

678. How was the Lecompton constitution disposed of?

It was re-submitted to the people of Kansas, who rejected it by a majority of over 10,000. The admission of the state was postponed three years but the exclusion of slavery was made certain.

679. Was Kansas not admitted during Buchanan's administration?

Yes, but not till the very end of the presidential term, after six states had withdrawn from the union.

680. What other states were admitted during this administration?

Minnesota and Oregon, the former May 11, 1858, and the latter Feb. 12, 1859.

681. Give the previous history of these states.

Kansas was formed from Indian Territory, a part of the

original Louisiana country. It was organized as a territory in 1854 and, at its first census in 1860, showed a population of 107,206. (It was admitted to the union Jan. 29, 1861.) Minnesota was first settled by the French in 1805. Acquired by the United States through the Louisiana purchase, its settlement was delayed by regard for the rights of Indian tribes. It was organized as a territory in 1849, and in the census of 1860 showed a population of 172,023. Oregon was acquired by settlement and made a territory in 1848. Its population in 1860 was 52,465.

682. Whence the names of these states?

Kansas is an Indian word said to signify "Smoky Water." Minnesota, which is also an Indian name, means "Whitish Water." Oregon is also on record as an Indian name, and is interpreted "River of the West." It has, however, another derivation that is at least plausible, for we are told that the original Spanish settlers nicknamed an Indian tribe "Big Ears"—Oregons,—and so came to apply the name to the country.

683. What was the condition of the American people at this time?

A financial panic had occurred in 1857, but though the loss to individuals was great, the growth of the country was scarcely checked. The census of 1860 showed a wonderful increase in the wealth of the nation, then estimated at over sixteen billions. A low tariff had built up foreign trade and, in the size of her merchant-navy, America was surpassed only by Great Britain.

684. How about the manufacturing interests?

Free trade had borne hardly upon some of them, but owing to the number of valuable inventions made in America, and to the extent of her agricultural and mineral resources, manufacturing as a whole had not declined.

685. How had the mineral resources of the country been developed?

Many new iron and copper mines had been opened, and coal had been found in all parts of the country. Gold and silver mines were opened in the Rocky Mountains, and in Pennsylvania petroleum was discovered in 1859.

686. What remarkable work was attempted early in this period?

The establishment of submarine telegraphic commun-

ication with England. An Atlantic cable was laid with great difficulty and the first messages were sent Aug. 16, 1858. The cable, however, soon failed to work, and communication ceased till 1866.

687. Note some special evidences of progress in America.

The use of labor-saving machinery on farms and in factories; the construction of parks and waterworks in cities, the growth of American literature, and the success of literary magazines, the generous support given to public schools and public libraries, were all special evidences of the growth of civilization.

688. What change had been made in the policing of cities?

The old-time watchmen were discarded and a system of uniformed police was established. (This system had originated in London where Sir Robert Peel had reformed the police as far back as 1829—whence the cant term “peelers” as applied to police.)

689. In what part of this country were these improvements chiefly to be found?

In the north. Slavery had retarded the growth of the south, by discouraging the application of intellect to labor and business management. Many southerners saw this (and most are now willing to admit it) but at that time most southern men attributed the prosperity of the north to the unprincipled shrewdness of the “Yankees.”

690. What trouble was caused by the Mormons of Utah?

The Mormons of Salt Lake City, in 1857, refused obedience to the United States, and federal troops being sent against them, they threatened war. In 1858 matters were adjusted, and the Mormons, acknowledging the authority of the president and congress, received amnesty.

691. What were the signs of an approaching crisis in the affairs of the union?

The open agitation in favor of secession at the south, the growth of the Republican party and the open hostility shown toward slavery, and the inability of northern and southern Democrats to longer work together for the maintenance of existing conditions.

692. How long had the agitation for secession continued?

Since the election of 1856. Before that the right of secession was generally claimed for the states by the southern

political leaders, but with no expectation of a division of the union. The proposal that all the slave states withdraw from the union until assured of their safety from anti-slavery legislation, began to be regarded with favor only after the large vote given to Fremont showed the possibility of Republican success.

693. Was the establishment of a southern confederacy part of the scheme?

It was suggested, but it was not an essential part of the scheme. The idea of a permanent division of the union was not favored at the south, but the flattering suggestion that by the threat of withdrawal "the south could coerce the north" was received with great favor.

694. What did the south demand as the price of its remaining in the union?

Security for slavery. Many southerners demanded the protection of slavery in the territories and even the annexation of slave territories (such as Cuba), and a few wished also the revival of the slave trade, but these were declared essential only in so far as they were necessary to maintain the equality of the free and slave sections of the union, and so provide for the security of slave property.

695. Was the north disposed to concede anything to the demands of the south?

No; concessions to slavery were very unpopular at the north. June 17, 1858, Abraham Lincoln declared that the union could not permanently endure half slave and half free, and October 25 of the same year, W. H. Seward declared that an "irrepressible conflict" existed between slavery and freedom. Though the Republicans confined their demands to the restriction of slavery, they did not and could not consistently guarantee the perpetuation of slavery within the boundaries of the slave states.

696. Could not this guarantee have been given by Northern Democrats?

No; for the northern Democrats, in their effort to compete with Republicans in the northern states, were forced to follow their lead in restricting slavery. This necessity became very apparent in the campaign preceding the state and congressional elections of 1858.

697. What memorable debate occurred during this campaign?

The debate between Lincoln and Douglas in the Illinois state-election campaign. The legislature to be elected was to choose a United States senator, and Senator Douglas and Representative Lincoln were the candidates of their respective parties for the position.

698. What was the result of the debate?

The Democrats obtained a majority in the legislature and re-elected Senator Douglas. The debate, however, affected the political situation beyond the state borders and led to Republican success in 1860.

699. How was the situation affected?

The south lost all faith in Senator Douglas and his following of northern Democrats, and determined to enter the next presidential campaign with a pro-slavery candidate backed by a threat to secede in case of his defeat. (Lincoln's declaration that he would make it impossible for Douglas to be both senator and president was not an empty threat, for if Douglas had sought by pro-slavery utterances to conciliate the south, he would doubtless have defeated his party in Illinois.)

700. What event, in 1859, seemed to justify the opinion the south had formed with regard to northern anti-slavery feeling?

The John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry. As a matter of fact, few northern men knew of the plot, though not a few condoned it after it was attempted, but the south accepted it as a sample of the treatment they were to expect from northern Republicans.

701. What were Brown's actions and what his purpose?

John Brown, a free-state leader in the Kansas troubles, conceived the idea of fomenting insurrection among southern slaves, with a view both to the punishment of the slave owners, and the hastening of emancipation. Accustomed to aid from northern abolitionists in the Kansas struggle, he hoped for a similar outburst of anti-slavery fervor when the slaves should be at war with their masters. With a few followers, but plentifully supplied with weapons and money by northern accomplices,\* Brown attacked and captured the United States armory at Harper's Ferry Oct. 16, 1859. Some fighting and bloodshed followed, but with little trouble the insurrection

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\*As to Brown's accomplices at the north see biography of Lincoln, by Nicolay and Hay, page 519 of the *Century* for August 1887.



was put down. Brown was captured and brought to trial and in spite of petitions from the north in his behalf, suffered the penalty of his crime Dec. 2, 1859 )

702. What was the political effect of the incident?

Owing to a prompt repudiation of sympathy with Brown on the part of leading Republicans, the effect on northern politics was slight, but at the south the incident gave a point to the secession argument that the anti-slavery party were unprincipled, regarding neither law nor justice in their effort to injure the south.

703. When did the presidential campaign of 1860 begin?

Preparations for the contest were made long beforehand, The first formal movement was the calling of the Democratic convention to meet at Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1860. The situation was felt to be critical, and the public looked forward to the meeting with eagerness, not unmixed with apprehension. The convention was thoroughly representative of the party, the Democratic leaders of all sections having sought the position of delegates in order to have a voice in the expected "compromise" that was needed to unite northern and southern Democrats.

704. What were the conflicting elements?

The southern men, presuming too greatly on the efficacy of their threat to secede, came to the meeting prepared to yield nothing. They demanded that the doctrine of "popular sovereignty" set forth by Douglas and his followers at the north, should be condemned, and that "federal protection to slavery in the territories" should become the watchword of the party north as well as south. To this the northerners could not consent without sacrificing both their principles and party chances in the north. They proposed that the duty and power of congress to protect slavery in the territories, should be left to the federal supreme court. Even this offer represented a concession, for they thought that the question of slavery should, in all fairness, be left to the decision of the settlers in the territories.

705. What was the result of the conflict?

A split in the convention on the slavery "plank" in the platform. Even though this had been compromised, the sections could not have agreed on the nomination. The south would not accept Douglas, whom the delegates from the north believed to be the only prominent man who could be elected. Their very insistence on this necessity to con-

ciliate northern anti-slavery feeling, only roused the ire of the southern members. As a consequence, when the northerners, by a majority vote, substituted their non-committal slavery plank for the one offered by the south, the delegates from seven southern states withdrew from the convention.

706. What effect did this have?

It left the Douglas Democrats in a majority, but, according to rule, a two-thirds vote of the entire convention (as originally composed) was necessary to nominate, and under this rule no agreement could be reached. After fifty-seven ineffectual ballots, the convention adjourned to meet at Baltimore June 18.

707. What did the seceding delegations do?

The delegations from Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Texas, Arkansas, and Delaware, which had withdrawn from the convention, held a separate meeting, adopted a platform, and adjourned to meet in Richmond the second Monday in June. They met at that date as proposed, but again adjourned to await the result of the Baltimore convention.

708. What was this result?

When the Democratic convention met at Baltimore, new delegations presented themselves from the states left without representation by the bolt at Charleston, and these new delegations were admitted. This gave occasion for a second bolt on the part of southern sympathizers. The result was that the main convention, now chiefly composed of northern Democrats, nominated Senator Douglas of Illinois, and the bolters in session at Baltimore and at Richmond put forward Vice-president Breckinridge of Kentucky.

709. Who were the candidates for vice-president?

The Douglas convention nominated Senator Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama, but he declined the honor, and the executive committee substituted Judge Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia. The Breckinridge convention put up Senator Joseph Lane of Oregon, a representative of a free state, but an extreme pro-slavery politician.

710. Meanwhile, what other conventions had been held?

Those of the Constitutional-Union and Republican parties, the former meeting at Baltimore May 9, and the latter at Chicago May 16.

711. What candidates were put forward by these conventions?

John Bell of Tennessee, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts, were nominated at Baltimore; Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, were nominated at Chicago.

712. What was the Constitutional-Union platform?

It refused to formulate one. The convention passed a resolution denouncing all platforms as strife-provoking, and simply endorsed "the constitution, the union, and the enforcement of the laws." The arguments put forward by the party were that the slavery question should be dealt with dispassionately and without sectional strife. It was of more consequence, they thought, that justice should be done and the union preserved, than that any particular interests should be served, or any particular party views carried out in settling the slavery question.

713. What was the basis of the Republican platform?

Its animating spirit was a belief and declaration that the institution of slavery was wrong in morals and detrimental to society; its avowed policy was to restrict slavery to its present limits in the states where it existed by virtue of local institutions and laws. It denied "the authority of congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States."\*

714. What was the character of the campaign which followed?

It was a savage contest between factions. The temper of all parties was bitter and intolerant. It is noteworthy that all the candidates made loud professions of devotion to the union, but (unless in the case of Bell and Everett) scouted the idea of party sacrifice to ensure the union. This glorification of the union was simply made an excuse for the denunciation of all other factions as "traitorous" in feeling and purpose.

715. What was the result of the contest?

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\*In explanation of this remarkable denial of authority, reference should be made to Wm. H. Seward's speech in the senate in 1850, denying the arbitrary power of congress over the national domain. "The constitution regulates our stewardship," he said, and so far the southerners agreed with him. \* \* \* "But there is a higher law than the constitution which regulates our authority over the domain and devotes it to the same noble purposes (i. e. union, justice, defense, welfare and liberty.)" It was with reference to this "higher law" that the Chicago convention denied congressional authority to promote slavery, and (by implication) the right even of the southern state legislatures to defend and support it.

The election of Lincoln and Hamlin by a majority of the electoral vote of the states, and a plurality of the popular vote. The electoral vote stood: For Lincoln, 180; Breckinridge, 72; Bell, 36; Douglas, 12. The popular vote stood: Lincoln, 1,866,352; Douglas, 1,475,157; Breckinridge, 845,763; Bell, 589,581.

716. Geographically, how was the vote distributed?

The south divided its vote between Breckinridge and Bell. The latter carried Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, and the former all the rest of the slave states, with the exception of Missouri, the only slave state that gave its vote to Douglas. Lincoln and Douglas divided the popular vote in the free states, but Lincoln secured the electoral vote of all but New Jersey. (The result showed the wisdom of the Chicago convention in opposing Douglas—the certain choice of the Baltimore convention—by a candidate from the west. Had Seward of New York been the nominee, Douglas would, in all probability, have carried enough western states to throw the election into the hands of congress, a body greatly disposed to conciliate the south.)

717. What can you say of the successful candidates?

Abraham Lincoln was born in Kentucky in 1809. He emigrated, with his parents, to Indiana and afterwards to Illinois. Here he worked as a farm-hand, rail-splitter, and Mississippi river boatman. He received only the rudiments of an education, but educated himself, studied law, and began its practice. He was elected (as a Whig) to the state legislature, and also to congress. Hannibal Hamlin was born in Maine in 1809. He became a printer by trade and a lawyer by profession; served in the legislature and in both houses of congress, as a Democrat; became a Republican and was elected in 1856, governor of Maine, and afterward United States senator.

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#### CHAPTER XVIII.—LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION.

718. What was the chief event of Lincoln's administration?

The attempted secession of the southern states. (This secession movement began before Lincoln's inauguration, but properly belongs to his term of office, the secession being avowedly in consequence of his election.)

719. Was the secession the result of a conspiracy?

Partly so; there is no little evidence of a concerted at-



tempt to force a dissolution of the union. The conspiracy, however, was not general and included comparatively few of the political leaders of the south, most of whom dreaded the attempted revolution, and sought to avert it.

720. How were these opponents of secession led to become its advocates?

The campaign of 1860 became (as the probability of Republican success became apparent) a threat against Lincoln. Southern leaders vehemently protested that the south would not—could not, submit to Lincoln's installation, and on that ground urged the election of Breckinridge, Bell or Douglas (according to the party preference of the speaker), and hence most southern men found themselves committed to the necessity of secession, and unable to oppose it.

721. How had secession always been regarded at the south?

As one of the reserved rights of the states. Whatever view the north may have taken, the south had never understood the federal compact to be indissoluble. The right of a state to secede at will seems to have been generally believed in, but it was only after the north became the more powerful and the south thought itself oppressed and aggrieved, that the secession doctrine became peculiarly southern.

722. In what form was the same doctrine held at the north?

In the form of a denial of the right of the federal government to coerce a state. (The New England federalists in 1812-14, and the Abolitionists in 1840-50, were the only two classes that threatened to dissolve the union by withdrawing from it; but the secession of southern states was always considered possible.) The limitation of the federal authority was based on a literal construction of the constitution and was not a party principle.\* Of course, if coercion was unlaw-

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\*As a sample of the views held even by Republicans who afterwards earnestly advocated the war and vehemently denounced both secessionists and Copperheads, we quote from the speech of Benjamin F. Wade, senator from Ohio, delivered in the senate Dec. 4, 1856: "If they [the southern members] do not feel interested in upholding this union—if it really trenches on their rights—if it endangers their institutions to such an extent that they cannot feel secure under it—if their interests are violently assailed by means of this union, I am not one of those who expect that they will long continue under it. I am not one of those who would ask them to continue in such a union. It would be doing violence to the platform of the party to which I belong. We have adopted the old declaration of independence as the basis of our political movements, which declares that any people, when their government ceases to protect their rights, when it is so subverted from the true purposes of government as to oppress them, have the right to recur to fundamental principles, and, if need be, destroy the government under which they live,



ful, secession was permissible, subject to the penalty of the disapproval of the righteous.

723. What state was the first to secede?

South Carolina. As soon as Lincoln's election was made certain, this state called a convention which met at Charleston, Dec. 20, 1860, and declared that the union between South Carolina and the other states established by the constitution, was at an end, and that the state was therefore independent.

724. What action was taken in other states?

Conventions were called in the lower tier of cotton states, and Mississippi seceded Jan. 8, 1861; Alabama and Florida, Jan. 11; Georgia, Jan. 19; Louisiana, Jan. 26; and Texas, Feb. 1.

725. Were the people of these states unanimously in favor of secession?

By no means; the movement was strongly opposed, and many tricks and devices were thought necessary to carry the states for secession. Hence many people believed that the majority were not in favor of the movement. But it was a period when men, both north and south, changed their minds rapidly. In a few months the union sentiment at the south was virtually extinguished.

726. What caused this great change of feeling?

Natural sympathy with fellow-countrymen, usually styled patriotism. This natural human weakness—which we extol as a virtue, or denounce as a vice, according to its relation to ourselves—begins at home. Intellectual patriotism, which often implies constraint of natural feeling, is an acquired virtue, and not the patriotism the poets praise.

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and to erect on its ruins, another more conducive to their welfare. I hold that they have this right. I will not blame any people for exercising it, whenever they think the contingency has come. I certainly shall be the advocate of that same doctrine whenever I find that the principles of this government have become so oppressive to the section to which I belong, that a free people ought not longer to endure it. You will not then find me backward in being the advocate of disunion; but that contingency never having come, I have never yet opened my mouth in opposition to the union. \* \* \* I hope the union will continue forever. I see nothing at present which I think should dissolve it; but if other gentlemen see it, I say again that they have the same interest in maintaining this union, in my judgment, that we of the north have. If they think they have not, be it so. You cannot forcibly hold men in this union; for the attempt to do so, it seems to me, would subvert the first principles of the government under which we live."

727. How was the north prepared to deal with secession?

The government was at first paralyzed by indecision. President Buchanan was strongly opposed to the disruption of the union, but as a Democrat he laid the blame largely at the door of the Republican agitators against slavery, and could only advise concessions to the south such as the north was in no mood to consider, much less to grant. He also, in his annual message to congress, encouraged the south by denying the right of the federal government to make war on the seceding states.

728. What further checked government action?

Division in the president's cabinet. The northern members opposed the secession movement and advised coercion, but the southern members of the cabinet were ardent secessionists and did not scruple to use their official power and influence in its favor.\* The result of this conflict of opinion was delay, awaiting the action of congress.

729. What action was taken by congress?

None; the debates were long and earnest, but no agreement was possible until the first seven states had seceded and their representatives had withdrawn from congress.

730. In the meantime, what change had occurred in the policy of the administration?

As the work of secession progressed, the president seemed to awake to the duty of maintaining the government and turning it over unimpaired to his successor. The southern members withdrew from his cabinet. Gen. Cass of Michigan, secretary of state, also resigned, but on the ground that the president was neglecting to enforce the laws at the south. Under the influence of Judge Black of Pennsylvania—who left the attorney general's office to succeed Gen. Cass—the president re-organized his cabinet in favor of the northern view of the situation, and proposed (to quote from his second message to congress, Jan. 8, 1861), to "collect the public revenues and protect public property"—at the south—"as far as might be practicable under existing laws."

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\*The action of Messrs. Floyd, secretary of war; Trescott, assistant secretary of state; Thompson, secretary of the interior, and Cobb, secretary of the treasury, can only be excused on the ground that men will do worse things for their party and their country (as they regard it) than they will for their own profit. The chief culprit was the president, who, from mere weakness, suffered men to remain in his cabinet who were deliberately engaged in weakening the federal power

731. Did this imply "coercion?"

Inasmuch as it implied the right and duty of the executive to put down, by military force if necessary, all opposition to the federal officers in the discharge of their duties, it did imply "coercion,"—and was, indeed, exactly the same line of policy as that avowed by Lincoln at the beginning of his administration.

732. What preparations were made by the south to carry out its programme?

The seceding states sent delegates to a convention at Montgomery, Ala., and there, Feb. 18, a southern confederacy was formed, with Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as its president, and A. H. Stephens of Georgia as its vice-president. The government thus established prepared to resist any attempt to enforce the federal laws in the seceded states.

733. What was the condition of things in the Charleston harbor?

Matters were approaching a crisis in the harbor of Charleston, S. C., owing to the demand of the state government for the surrender of the forts commanding the harbor, then in possession of federal troops. These defensive positions had, it was claimed, been ceded to the federal government only for protection against foreign enemies, and now that the union was dissolved, they reverted by right to the original grantor. Under Buchanan's new policy, the forts must be held till their surrender was warranted by act of congress. To this the state agreed, but demanded that no re-inforcements should be sent, or other preparations made with a view to balking the determination of the state to regain possession of the forts.

734. How was this demand met?

It was not denied, but to the indignation of the people of Charleston, Major Anderson, the commander of the small force stationed at Charleston, was allowed to entrench himself in Fort Sumter and make preparations to defend his position. This betokened want of confidence in the states' assurance that the forts would not be seized by violence pending negotiations, and it also made it possible for the United States to defend this fort in case congress refused to authorize its surrender. As a consequence, when the United States steamer, *Star of the West*, was sent to carry supplies to the fort, it was fired on by the South Carolinian forces and driven from the harbor.

735. How did the other states respect United States property?

In most cases, federal property, such as forts, arsenals and custom houses, was seized in the name of the state, and this even before there was any attempt made to interfere with and obstruct the United States mails. When Lincoln's administration actually came into power, the government property at the south had nearly all been either seized by violence or surrendered by the faint-hearted officials in charge.

736. What was the declared policy of the new administration?

In taking possession of the government March 4, 1861, Lincoln announced no violent change of policy. Yet there was a decided change in the government's manner in dealing with the south. Buchanan had (after a brief interval of weakness) maintained the rights of the national government for the time being. Lincoln was forced to declare a more permanent policy. In doing so, he sought to conciliate the south, without conceding anything to the claims of the secessionists. He should, he declared, hold the federal property in the southern states, continue the transportation and distribution of the mails and the collection of the tariff duties at southern ports. All this he would do without provoking strife, and, in the interest of peace, would forbear to do "everything without which it was believed possible to keep the government on foot."

737. Was this policy a wise one?

It was wise only with reference to its effect on the northern mind. The seceded states no longer contemplated re-entering the union. Furthermore, they had formed a confederacy and could no longer allow the federal government (of the other states) to exercise its functions within their boundaries. A peaceable reunion between the sections was really impossible, but the north was not yet convinced, and the border states were still hesitating over the question of secession, so that Lincoln was wise to avoid anything that might precipitate a crisis.

738. Who formed the president's cabinet at this time?

The new cabinet, appointed March 5, was as follows: secretary of state, Wm. H. Seward, of New York; secretary of the treasury, Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio; secretary of war, Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania; secretary of the navy, Gideon Welles, of Connecticut; secretary of the interior,



Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana; attorney general, Edward Bates, of Missouri; postmaster general, Montgomery Blair, of Maryland.

739. What can you say of this cabinet?

Seward, Chase, Cameron and Bates had been Lincoln's rivals for the Republican nomination, and this fact seems to have recommended them to his favor. Lincoln desired above all things to unite his party and the north generally. With this view he sought also to influence New England by the appointment of Welles, and Indiana and Maryland by the appointment of Smith and Blair. His selections, however, gave little satisfaction to Republican leaders, and the cabinet was severely criticised.

740. What were the grounds of criticism?

Against Seward little could be said, but Chase was declared an old time Democrat, whose free-trade affiliations unfitted him to administer the treasury department in conformity with the high-protective policy of the Republicans. Cameron was regarded (outside his own state) as a political intriguer with no sound claims to statesmanship.\* Welles—recommended by Vice President Hamlin—and Smith were declared obscure and insignificant. Blair was a Democrat, and Bates an opponent of abolition. It was noted that Lincoln's cabinet contained no such "absolute and strong defenders of the union" as Dix, Holt, and Stanton, who were in Buchanan's cabinet.†

741. How did this cabinet wish to deal with the seceded states?

Of the cabinet only one,—Montgomery Blair,—seems to have been prepared for resolute action. The first question brought before the cabinet was concerning the provisioning and reinforcement of Major Anderson at Fort Sumter. Five of the cabinet advised against the measure; only two, Chase

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\*It is noteworthy that Lincoln, after offering a cabinet position to Cameron, withdrew the offer and was finally induced to make the appointment only because Pennsylvania insisted on a cabinet position. She claimed the treasury "for the promotion of her individual prosperity." [See *Century*, vol. 35, p. 422.] It is also to be noted that the predictions of the opponents of Cameron seem to have been justified, and that he was forced to resign in January, 1862.

†"The extreme men in the Republican party, of the type of Benjamin F. Wade [see note to Question 722] and Owen Lovejoy, believed that the cabinet was so constituted as to insure what they termed a disgraceful surrender to the south."—Blaine's *"Twenty Years in Congress,"*



and Blair, were in favor of it, and Chase qualified his recommendation by explaining that he could not advise the action if he thought it involved the beginning of civil war. There was a general feeling that neither the north nor the border slave states would support a war, brought on by any aggressive act of the government, and the members of the cabinet were willing that Sumter should be abandoned to avoid bloodshed at that critical moment.

742. Who decided the question at last?

Lincoln himself. March 28, 1861, the cabinet considered the recommendation of the general of the army—Gen. Winfield Scott—that Fort Sumter be evacuated. To this they could not consent, but were equally loath to advise its reinforcement. Finally, Lincoln settled the matter by deciding that to abandon Fort Sumter would humiliate the north without conciliating the south, and that therefore provisions and reinforcements must be sent. Fair warning of this was sent to Gov. Pickens of South Carolina, and early in April a fleet was sent from New York to carry the plan into effect.

743. How did the confederate government receive the news?

The confederate government—then at Montgomery, Ala., had already prepared for war, and on learning of the decision of the government at Washington, it ordered that Fort Sumter be attacked and reduced before the arrival of the expected fleet.

744. Were these orders obeyed?

Yes; April 12, 1861, Gen. Beauregard, then in command at Charleston, began the bombardment of Fort Sumter, and after a fire of thirty hours the fort surrendered. Major Anderson and the garrison were allowed to simply evacuate the fort and depart for the north "with the honors of war," the confederates being well satisfied with their victory. (The United States forces still held Fort Pickens at Pensacola, and Key West, the southern point of Florida, within the limits of the confederacy, but these were considered of little importance compared with Fort Sumter.)

745. How was the attack on Sumter received at the north?

It created intense excitement and indignation. The majority at the north had been in an ague of irresolution over the question of coercing the seceded states, but it had no real fear of a war. April 15, President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to help put down the rebellion, and four

times that number were soon offered. Money was likewise freely offered, so that the administration felt fully supported in its course.

746. What did congress do?

Congress was not in session. The thirty-sixth congress had ended March 3, and the 37th, under ordinary conditions, would not convene till December. President Lincoln summoned an extra session to meet July 4, and at this session all previous acts for the preservation of the union were fully endorsed.

747. What effect did the course of the government have on the border slave states?

These states were in sympathy with the confederacy, though they had not yet concluded to secede from the union. The preparations made by Lincoln to suppress the rebellion turned the tide of popular feeling against the union, and Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas seceded, and Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri seemed upon the verge of secession.

748. How did the government proceed to subjugate the south?

The president proclaimed a blockade of southern ports. Armies of volunteers were quickly organized to hold disputed territory and attack the southern forces when advisable. At first all these armies were under the command of Gen. Scott, but as the war progressed other commanders were advanced, and Scott retired. It was seen, moreover, that the advance by way of Virginia and that by way of the Mississippi valley were too distant to be included in the same campaign.

749. Where did the fighting first begin?

In what is now West Virginia. People of that section refused to follow their state out of the union, and had formed a state legislature and government of their own. To hold this territory, Gen. McClellan was sent with a force of Ohio troops, and, early in July, 1861, fought several battles, which resulted in driving the confederates out of the state.

750. What was the next movement made?

The army of the Potomac began a general advance in July, to attack the confederate army, posted at Manassas Junction. Here the battle of Bull Run was fought, and the northern troops suffered severe defeat.

751. What was the result of the rout at Bull Run?

The union forces fell back completely demoralized to Washington, where they were reorganized and put in command of McClellan, who spent the remainder of the year drilling his forces, fortifying Washington, and driving back the enemy to their old line of defense near Manassas Junction.

752. What movements were made at the west?

Energetic action had been taken by the federal forces in Missouri, and the enemy were expelled from that state. Some movement was also made to attack posts on the Mississippi river.

753. What movements were made by the navy?

The navy was so far reduced at the beginning of the war, that when the president proclaimed a blockade of southern ports he had only three vessels with which to enforce it. New war ships and transports were soon set afloat, and in August, 1861, a naval force, with troops on board, attacked and captured Hatteras inlet and its fort, and from this point made war on the neighboring coast of North Carolina. Port Royal was also taken by a similar force and commissioned with federal troops, and an attempt was made to take possession of the mouth of the Mississippi river.

754. What were the movements of 1862?

The first significant movement was that by Gen. Thomas which resulted in the battle of Mill Springs, January 20. The next was the campaign of Gen. Grant up the Tennessee valley, and the capture of forts Henry and Donelson. These movements compelled the confederate general, Albert Sidney Johnston, to retire from Kentucky and form a new line of defence along the Memphis and Charleston railroad. On this new line was afterwards fought the battle of Shiloh. West of the Mississippi river, Gen. Curtis crossed from Missouri to Arkansas and began driving the confederate forces from that state. The grand object of these campaigns was the freeing of the Mississippi to northern commerce, and in this the navy at New Orleans and the gunboats on the upper river did much to assist the land forces. New Orleans was taken on the 20th of April, and before the end of the year all the river posts with the exception of Vicksburg had been subdued.

755. What was the state of affairs in Virginia?

In Virginia there was almost constant fighting in 1862. McClellan took the greater part of the army of the Potomac down to the Yorktown peninsula, hoping by that means to reach and capture Richmond, then the confederate capital. His plans were foiled by the enemy and by the necessity of keeping forces between Lee's army and the city of Washington. There was serious fighting in the peninsula campaign and the losses on both sides were about even, but before midsummer the entire plan of campaign was condemned by the authorities at Washington, and a new army, the army of Virginia, sent overland to Richmond under Gen. Pope. As both armies could not be adequately supported, McClellan was ordered to withdraw from the peninsula and return to the line of the Potomac.

756. Was the campaign of the army under Pope more successful?

No; its flank was turned by Jackson and in the battles that followed near the old Bull Run battle ground, it was decidedly worsted, though he had by this time most of McClellan's army to reinforce him. The confederate forces were encouraged to attempt the invasion of Maryland.

757. What was done to prevent them?

McClellan, who was now in charge of the army defending Washington, pursued Lee and fought the battle of Antietam, which, though not a decided victory, served the purpose of one, for it forced Lee to return to Virginia.

758. What other attempt was made to reach Richmond this year?

Burnside was put in charge of the army after Antietam, and marched to Fredericksburg, intending to move from there straight for Richmond. He was, however, met by Lee and suffered a most serious defeat.

759. What movements were made by the federal navy in 1862?

Besides the fighting on the Mississippi river, the navy had supported the campaign of the peninsula against Richmond, and had captured numerous islands and harbors along the coast, and made the work of blockading the southern ports much more efficient. The incident of the fight between the Monitor and Merrimac in Hampton Roads in March, 1862, gave great impetus to the building of iron-clad war vessels of all kinds.

760. What were the movements of 1863?

The struggle continued in Virginia without definite advantage to either side. At the west, the union armies were more successful. The capture of Vicksburg and the operations in Arkansas and Tennessee, resulted in forcing the enemy away from the line of the Mississippi and dividing the territory of the confederacy into two parts.

761. What battles were fought in the east?

The battle of Chancellorsville, May 2 and 3, in which the army of the Potomac, under Gen. Hooker, was defeated, and the battle of Gettysburg, Pa., July 1-3, in which the confederate Gen. Lee was defeated, and his invasion of the north checked. These two battles were the decisive ones as far as the east was concerned, and no further movements of importance were made in the state of Virginia during that summer.

762. What campaigns were fought at the west?

There were, in 1863, four union armies at the west. One near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, under Rosecrans; another in northern Mississippi under Grant; a third in Louisiana under Banks, and a fourth in Arkansas. Grant led a campaign against Vicksburg and other fortified posts on the Mississippi, and succeeded July 4, in capturing not only Vicksburg but the besieged army of Gen. Pemberton, numbering 37,000 men. Banks co-operated in the work of capturing Fort Hudson. The Arkansas forces also co-operated by driving the small bands of the enemy away from the Mississippi river. Meanwhile, Rosecrans led a campaign in an entirely different direction, aiming to crush the rebel army under Gen. Bragg, then in eastern Tennessee.

763. What battles did Rosecrans fight?

By skillful maneuvering, Rosecrans drove Bragg down to the Tennessee river near Chattanooga, and there fought the battle of Chickamauga, in which he was defeated. After his defeat he fell back to Chattanooga and was there besieged until Grant came to his relief.

764. What battles did Grant fight?

Those of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, which were taken by sudden assault, Nov. 23 to 25. This ended the summer campaigns at the west.

765. What was done by the fleet this summer?

Much was attempted and but little accomplished. Fort



Sumter was attacked and Charleston besieged by land and water, but neither movement was successful. Some points on the coasts were taken and the confederate iron-clad *Atlanta* was captured by the Monitor *Weehawken* in June, 1863.

766. Give the military movements in 1864.

In 1864, Grant was put in charge of the forces in Virginia, and, by maneuvering and hard fighting, drove the confederate army back to the defenses of Richmond. In the southeast, Sherman forced the defenses of Atlanta, Ga., and, leaving the confederate army to the care of Gen. Thomas, marched with 60,000 men across Georgia to Savannah. This divided the confederacy a second time, and as Thomas proved more than a match for the confederate army of Atlanta, Sherman's movement gave him a new base of attack without weakening the position of the armies of the north.

767. What battles were fought in the Virginia campaign?

Grant, possessed of almost unlimited forces, projected three campaigns to reach Richmond. One army, under Gen. Butler, was sent up the James river to threaten Richmond from the east; another army was sent by way of the Shenandoah valley to threaten Richmond from the west, the main army, under Grant himself, marched south from Manassas Junction, crossing the headwaters of the Rappahannock and Rapidan rivers. The first battles were fought by Grant in the Wilderness, May 5 to 9, at Spotsylvania, May 8 to 21; at North Anna, May 23 to 26, and at Cold Harbor, May 31 to June 12. The army of the James suffered serious defeat at Drury's Bluff, and returned without accomplishing anything. The army of the Shenandoah valley was likewise defeated and failed of its mission.

768. What change was made in the Shenandoah valley?

Gen. Sheridan superseded Gen. Hunter in the command of the army of the Shenandoah, and, late in September, defeated Gen. Early in the battle of Winchester. In the following month he again defeated the same general at Cedar Creek, and succeeded in driving him far up the valley.

769. Was this the extent of the Virginia campaigns in 1864?

No; Gen. Grant moved his armies around that of the enemy, crossed the James river and began the movement towards Richmond from the south. Both armies went into

fortification near Petersburg, and there continued the rest of the year.

770. What battles were fought in the southern campaign?

Sherman's advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta led to several battles, chief among which were Resaca, Dallas and Kenesaw mountain. Again, at Atlanta, three battles were fought before the city was taken, then the confederate general, Hood, sought to create a diversion by leading his entire forces into Tennessee to cut Sherman's communications with the north. Here Hood was met by Gen. Thomas and defeated totally at Franklin and at Nashville in December, 1864. About the same time Sherman reached Savannah and after a siege of eight days captured the city.

771. What were the movements of 1865?

Sherman marched northward through the Carolinas, defending himself from the attacks of the enemy. Grant attacked, and at last surrounded, the opposing army under Lee, and thus compelled its surrender. This conclusion came naturally from the exhaustion of the military resources of the south. The surrender of Johnston's army to Sherman followed immediately, and this was followed by a general laying down of arms in all parts of the confederacy.

772. What battles were fought in this year?

The first engagement of importance was the defeat, at Goldsboro, N. C., March 19, of Johnston's attempt to crush a portion of Sherman's army. Sheridan in raiding the Shenandoah valley with 10,000 cavalry, met with some opposition from Early's forces, and toward the latter end of March, Lee made a savage attack on Grant's lines at Fort Steadman. April 2, in making his final move to surround Lee, Grant broke through the enemy's line of entrenchments by assault, and skirmishes occurred daily till the surrender at Appomatox a week later.

773. Apart from the main armies what was done?

In Mississippi and Alabama, forces of federal troops moved about, destroying supplies. These met with little resistance except at Mobile, which was besieged and taken, with the help of the fleet, early in April. The capture of Fort Fisher and the neighboring city of Wilmington, N. C., accomplished by the help of the fleet early in 1865—was also important, as it closed the last southern port to blockade runners.

774. State the comparative military forces of the north and south.

The union army was raised from 186,751, July 1, 1861, to 1,000,516, May 1, 1865. Compared with the southern army it stood, according to the best estimates, about 1 to 1 in 1861, 5 to 3 in 1862, 3 to 2 in 1863, 2 to 1 in 1864, and 4 to 1 in January, 1865.

775. What was the total expenditure by the federal government on account of the war?

It cannot be stated accurately (1) because the expenditure on account of the war cannot be distinguished from the general expenses of the nation, and (2) because this expense has extended over a long period and has not yet ceased. The estimates vary between four and six billions.

776. What political change took place at the north during the war?

A decided change in the attitude of the people toward the institution of slavery and toward the limitations set on the power of congress by the federal constitution.

777. What was the declared policy of the government at the beginning of the war?

In July, 1861, congress passed (almost unanimously) the "Crittenden resolution" which declared that "the war is not waged in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or the overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the states, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the constitution and to preserve the union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several states unimpaired" and that "as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

778. What was the purpose of this resolution?

It was offered as a pledge to secure the support of the war by those who desired the preservation of the union, but not interference with slavery or enlargement of the powers of the federal government.

779. Are such pledges morally binding?

They must be considered so; as otherwise the government cannot claim the support of political opponents. (If the leaders of the war can rightfully aim at any change in the form of government, it becomes the right, if not the duty, of all opponents of this change, to oppose the conduct of the war.)

780. Are such pledges usually kept?

They are not, and hence the appeal to all parties to hold their political preferences in abeyance, and patriotically support the government, deceives only those who have never studied either history or human nature.

781. What became of the pledge in this particular instance?

It was broken without scruple. The restoration of the "union as it was," soon appeared undesirable, and, in view of public opinion, practically impossible. The question of "restoration" was naturally left to the sober judgment of the nation after the war feeling had passed away.

782. How was slavery first attacked?

In August, 1861, Gen. Fremont issued an order emancipating the slaves in Missouri, but this order was promptly countermanded by President Lincoln. A similar order issued by Gen. Hunter May 9, 1862, declaring free the slaves in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina, was also revoked by order of the president. But, even during its first session, congress confiscated slaves employed (with their master's consent) in direct aid of the southern armies. (This justified the declaration made by Gen. Butler at Fort Monroe in May, 1861, that slaves were "contraband of war," and therefore could not be returned to disloyal masters under the fugitive slave law.)

783. What was the next act of congress on this subject?

An act, passed in the spring of 1862, freeing the slaves in the District of Columbia and providing means for their voluntary emigration to Liberia or Hayti. In this case compensation was made to the slave owners. This law was merely local in its effect; a more positive attack on slavery was made in the Trumbull confiscation act passed during the same session of congress.

784. What was the nature of the Trumbull act?

It specified certain classes of persons engaged in the service of the confederacy, whom it declared guilty of treason and subjected to the penalty of death or imprisonment at the pleasure of the court. It ordered the peremptory seizure and confiscation of the property of such persons (without trial) and the freeing of slaves belonging to the same. It also set free all slaves escaping from the confederacy or found within its limits by the union armies.

785. What was the next move?

A proclamation by the president Sept. 22, 1862, warning the seceded states that unless they returned to the union before the first day of January, 1863, he would declare their slaves free and thereafter maintain their freedom.

786. What was the purpose of this proclamation?

Not the intimidation of the south, but the satisfaction of the north in view of the congressional elections which were about to take place.

787. Did the result show the political wisdom of the measure?

Hardly. In the five leading states—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois—the result showed a tremendous falling off in the Republican vote and these states returned fifty-nine Democrats and forty Republican congressmen. In the other states the Republican vote greatly declined, but in the total result the administration secured about twenty majority in the lower house of congress.

788. Was the emancipation proclamation issued as announced?

It was; with the exception that Tennessee and parts of Virginia and Louisiana were not included within its scope.

789. Did not the president intend that all the slaves should be freed?

Yes; but he considered the government pledged to pay for the slaves of loyal citizens. He urged congress to make provision for such payment conditional upon the freeing of slaves by state action in the border states. (A bill offering \$10,000,000 for the slaves of Missouri, passed the house early in 1863. The senate increased the appropriation to \$15,000,000 and the bill returned to the house for concurrence, but owing to the opposition of the Democratic opponents of emancipation the measure was not brought to vote.)

790. Was any compensation made to the loyal owners of slaves set free by the federal government?

No; by the time the emancipation was completed by the adoption of the thirteenth amendment, congress felt that it could afford to deny the claims of these slave owners; and the repudiation was made perpetual by a clause inserted in the fourteenth amendment.

791. What can you say of the emancipation?



That it is a measure in which the country generally acquiesced—not one in a thousand of the white people south as well as north now wishing it undone. But as to the manner of emancipation, legally considered, it is best defended as a “war measure,” as Thaddeus Stevens defended the admission of West Virginia.\*

792. Give the history of the separation of Virginia.

When Virginia adopted the ordinance of secession, the people of West Virginia formed what was virtually a territorial government at Wheeling. This organization declared itself the government of the state of Virginia on the ground that the rest of the state was disfranchised by its treason. The president and congress “recognized” this proceeding, and the members of congress from this pseudo-state were admitted. Having secured “recognition” the Wheeling government, as the state of Virginia, ratified its own secession as West Virginia, and by this travesty of legal forms complied with the constitutional provision that “no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state, without the consent of the legislature of the state concerned.”

793. When was the state finally admitted?

June 20, 1863. It was considered politically expedient—in view of the possible return of all or a part of the confederate states to the union—to secure the vote of West Virginia in the elections of 1864.

794. How was the financial support of the war provided?

Partly by increased taxation and partly by borrowings.

795. What were the forms of taxation?

The most productive were the tariff on imports and the internal revenue or excise taxes. A direct tax of \$20,000,000 was levied and apportioned among the states for collection; eight millions of this was demanded of the states in the confederacy. An income tax was also imposed, but the direct

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\*Concerning the proposal to admit West Virginia, Mr. Stevens said that it was “but mockery to say that the legislature of Virginia had ever consented to the separation, but he took no account of that. “We may admit West Virginia as a new state, not by virtue of any provision of the constitution, but under our absolute power which the laws of war give us in the circumstances in which we are placed. I shall vote for the bill on that theory and that alone. I will not stultify myself by supposing that we have any warrant in the constitution for this proceeding.”

and income taxes were unpopular and comparatively unproductive.

796. What other devices were resorted to in aid of the treasury?

The issuing of legal-tender treasury notes and the establishment of a national-bank currency based on government bonds.

797. What can you say of our foreign relations during the war?

They were generally unsatisfactory, partly owing to our own state of mind and partly to unfavorable circumstances. In the first place the north looked to the nations of Europe for an endorsement of its contention as opposed to that of the south and was not satisfied with mere professions of friendliness. In the second place the vested interests of most European nations inclined them to favor the establishment of the confederacy. Thirdly, the sentiment of the dominant party at the north was felt to be hostile to the chief European nations and this was naturally resented.

798. How was this anti-foreign feeling shown?

The Republican party had come into power largely upon the high-tariff issue, bolstered up by fostering hostility to importations from Europe and commercial jealousy of European nations. (The confederacy, on the other hand, declared for absolute free trade.) Furthermore, there was a strong feeling at the north in favor of a foreign war as a matter of policy, intended to unite north and south and distract attention from the slavery question.\* (This was rank folly, as most people will now acknowledge, but it was strongly advocated then.)

799. How were foreign countries interested in the success of the south?

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\*That even Secretary Seward was taken with the idea, appears in his extraordinary proposals to President Lincoln recently published for the first time (See *Century* for March, 1888.) Spain and Portugal were there proposed as the victims. The conquest of Canada was a favorite project urged in public and private as late as 1863. Also the conquest or annexation of Mexico, under the pretense of driving the French from that country. That England, for one, early took account of this peculiar form of rabies appears in the despatch of Lord John Russell (British minister of foreign affairs), to the English minister at Washington, setting forth the policy of his government, "supposing that Mr. Lincoln, acting under bad advice, should endeavor to provide excitement for the public mind by raising questions with Great Britain."

They had, at first, no financial interest in the success of the south, except of course, the opening of that country to free trade; but the action of the federal government in proclaiming a blockade of southern ports, put a bar on the export of cotton, etc., which interfered with the manufacturing interests of Europe.

800. Of what specific acts of unfriendliness did the north complain?

At first, of precipitation in recognizing the confederate states as belligerents, and of secret negotiation with the confederacy on the part of England and France. Afterward of aid and succor given to the confederacy by allowing the building and equipment of confederate cruisers, and treating these privateers as legitimate vessels of war in neutral ports. Also of open traffic carried on with the south in spite of the declared blockade.

801. What countries gave these causes of complaint?

Most of the European nations recognized the belligerency before the United States thought they should have done so, and England, France, Brazil, Spain and Mexico gave occasion for our wrath by assistance to confederate privateers.\*

802. Who was the chief offender in all this?

England. The government of England, by persistent refusal to prevent the fitting out, on her territory, of confederate privateers, gave ample provocation for war; and war would no doubt have been declared had the United States felt able, under the circumstances, to contend with so powerful a foe. As it was, we simply lodged a claim for damages done by the cruisers, and this claim was finally met and settled by arbitration under the treaty of Washington.

803. What was the *Trent* affair?

In November, 1861, Captain Wilkes, commander of the *San Jacinto*, stopped an English mail steamer, the *Trent*, in

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\*Of course, much of the complaint we must now own to have been ill-founded. The "belligerent rights" of the confederacy must needs have been acknowledged sooner or later, and no nation could reasonably be asked to help us in maintaining the blockade of southern ports. Our demand that the privateers authorized by the southern confederacy be treated as pirates was also altogether unreasonable under the existing state of international law. It was the more unreasonable, because the United States had not given its assent to the treaty of Paris, in 1856, proposing the abolition of the right of privateering.

the West Indies, and took from her four passengers—Messrs. Mason and Slidell, confederate commissioners, and their secretaries—and carried these gentlemen prisoners to the United States. In thus searching a neutral vessel on the high seas and in taking prisoner passengers under protection of the British flag, Capt. Wilkes violated international law and gave great offense to England. The United States, however, disclaimed the act and made peace by surrendering the prisoners to the British authorities with a suitable apology.

804. How did France give offense to the United States during the war?

By military interference in the affairs of Mexico on what we considered an insufficient pretext, and by taking occasion to aid in the establishment of a Mexican empire.

805. Give the history of the interference.

In 1858, Benito Juarez became, by revolution, chief magistrate of Mexico, but he could not quell the opposition nor maintain satisfactory government. Hence in 1860, England, France and Spain made simultaneous demands upon Mexico, either for the immediate settlement of some \$40,000,000 of old debts, or for the establishment of a responsible government to guarantee future payment. The three governments made a military and naval demonstration in aid of the party in opposition to President Juarez. In so doing, France professed to "espouse the quarrel of no party," but simply to establish stable government in the form and manner desired by the Mexicans.

806. Was the question of the form of government really left open?

Considering the condition of Mexico, it must be said it was not. "Stable government," maintained by French armies, meant government of a kind that France approved, and this was a monarchy.

807. How was a monarchy established?

The French general, having taken possession of the city of Mexico, joined with the heads of the Mexican church and army in calling an assembly of notables, and this body, in July, 1863, voted that a monarchy was the form of government best suited to the interests and character of the people of Mexico. Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph, (brother of the present emperor of Austria) was offered the throne of Mexico with the title of emperor.

808. What was the nature of Maximilian's government and why did it fail?

In accepting the post offered him, Maximilian asked for assurance that the Mexicans generally favored the empire, and having obtained this (as he thought) proceeded to establish a liberal monarchy. In his cabinet he had some of those who had formerly been in the cabinet of President Juarez. The government was good but not satisfactory even to the leaders of the imperial party, whose interests suffered through some of the reforms established. The failure of the empire was caused by the precipitate withdrawal of the French troops in 1865 before the empire had received a fair trial.

809. How was the United States affected by the action of France?

The United States had no direct interest in Mexico and had refused to accept a protectorate over that country,\* hence it could only object on the ground that Maximilian's government was a usurpation,—not acquiesced in by the Mexicans.† To test the question whether the empire was accepted by the Mexicans, the United States in 1865 asked that the French troops withdraw from Mexico.

810. How was the matter settled?

After some negotiation an agreement was reached, by which the United States recognized the original right of France to invade Mexico, and France admitted the right of Mexico to accept or reject the empire, and engaged to withdraw her troops. This was done in 1866, and in 1867 the empire was overturned by Juarez and his followers, and the Emperor Maximilian captured and put to death.

811. What state was admitted to the union during Lincoln's administration?

October 31, 1864, Nevada was admitted. This state was formed from a part of the Mexican cession of 1848; its wealth was altogether in its mines, particularly those of silver. Its admission is now generally conceded to have been premature, as with the failure of its mines its population has declined rather than increased.

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\*Reference is made to the McLane treaty of 1860, rejected by the United States senate.

†It had already protested against the invasion of Mexico as in some way "an unfriendly act" to the United States, but this may have been due to the hysterical condition of popular feeling.



812. Whence the name of this state?

It comes from the mountain range of the same name—Nevada in Spanish meaning "snow-covered."

813. Who were the candidates in the presidential election of 1864?

President Lincoln was nominated by the Union-Republicans at Baltimore, with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee (instead of Hamlin) as candidate for vice-president. A mass convention of Republicans came together at Cleveland and nominated Gens. Fremont of Missouri, and Cochrane of New York, but this ticket was withdrawn during the campaign. The anti-war Democrats met at Chicago late in the campaign (Aug. 20), and nominated Gen. George B. McClellan and George H. Pendleton of Ohio.

814. What was the attitude of the different parties toward the south?

The Baltimore convention endorsed the war and the administration, and opposed any compromise with the south in dealing with the slavery question. The Cleveland convention endorsed the war but condemned the administration. The Chicago convention condemned the war in part and the administration in toto; dwelling on the all too obvious fact that the policy of war had not yet restored the union.\*

815. Did the convention demand peace at any price?

No; though the movement, if successful, would doubtless have reached that conclusion. McClellan, in his letter of acceptance, ignored this tendency of the platform, declaring that the re-establishment of the union was an indispensable condition of peace.

816. What was the result of the election?

Overwhelming defeat for the Peace Democrats. McClellan and Pendleton carried the states of New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky only, and received 21 electoral votes. Lincoln and Johnson carried all the other states not in rebellion, and received 212 electoral votes. (Eleven states,

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\*The emancipation of slaves was especially condemned as both impolitic and unconstitutional. The platform urged "that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities with a view to an ultimate convention of all the states or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the federal union of the states."

with 81 electoral votes, took no part in the election.) The popular vote stood: Lincoln, 2,216,067; McClellan, 1,808,725

817. How long did Lincoln hold the presidency?

Only a little more than four years. He was assassinated, April 14, 1865, by John Wilkes Booth, who had formed a conspiracy with a few of his personal acquaintances to kill the president and the recognized leaders of the government. There is no reason to think that the conspiracy was extensive or that its members hoped to do more than "avenge the south."

818. Who succeeded to the presidency?

Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, who had been elected vice-president with Lincoln in 1864. Johnson was then fifty-seven years of age, a native of North Carolina and a citizen of Tennessee. He was, like Lincoln, a self-made man, and a leader of the common people, and had shown himself thoroughly devoted to the union, but he was not, and had never been, a Republican, and was not in sympathy with the aims of the leaders of that party.

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#### CHAPTER XIX.—JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

819. How long was Johnson president?

Nearly four years. He succeeded Lincoln in April, 1865, and served to the end of the term in 1869.

820. What were the chief events of his administration?

The "reconstruction" of the southern states, and the attempted impeachment of the president. These were partly the cause and partly the consequence of the division between Radical Republicans and the Union Republicans, the former faction proving by far the stronger wing of the party.

821. What was the point of political difference?

Chiefly as to the rights of the south and the duty of the nation toward emancipated negroes. The Union Republicans halted with the restoration of the union. They clung to the party pledge, given in the Crittenden resolution, that with the restoration of the union the war should cease. They accepted the emancipation of slaves, it is true, but only as a war measure. The Radicals wished to go forward—punish the south and provide for the advancement of the freed men.

822. What were the different views as to the legal status of the southern states?

There had long been a dispute concerning the effect of the secession of the southern states. One side held that the ordinances of secession were null and void, and that therefore the southern states were never out of the union. The other side maintained that the states were out by their own act, but were morally and legally at fault, and must be brought into subjection, and after that re-admitted to the union.

823. How did Lincoln deal with this question?

He set it aside as not a practical one and (in his time) "merely a pernicious abstraction." "We all agree," he said, "that the seceded states so-called are out of their proper practical relation with the union and that the sole object of the government is to get them back into their proper practical relation. \* \* \* The states finding themselves once more at home it would seem immaterial to me to inquire whether they had been abroad."

824. How did this question become more important?

It became the basis of an argument whether the states were to be treated as in the union and therefore possessed of constitutional rights,\* or as out of the union and to be treated as conquered territory. (As a result, they seem to have been regarded as in the union or as out of it, just as it suited the immediate purpose of the party in power to consider them.)

825. When the war was over, what was done about the governments of the southern states?

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\*President Johnson regarded the southern states as in the union and as only needing to be put in their "proper practical relation" to it. This view, which is in accordance with decisions of the federal supreme court, would have undoubtedly have been accepted but for the very natural desire of the north to "punish the south for its treason" and to advance the interests of the negro. Thaddeus Stevens took another view of the situation—an extra-legal and altogether common-sense view. He said: "Unless the law of nations is a dead letter, the late war between the acknowledged belligerents severed their original contracts and broke all the ties that bound them together. They must come in as new states or remain as conquered provinces." Sumner was disposed to take the same view: he urged the promulgation of the thirteenth amendment as a part of the constitution, it having received "the votes of three-fourths of the states adhering to the union." He said "the votes of the states in rebellion are not necessary to its adoption, but they must all agree to it, through their legislatures, as a condition precedent to their restoration to full rights as members of the union."

The state governments under the confederacy were ignored, and the formation of new state governments encouraged. Even before the close of the war, the union men in Louisiana, Arkansas and Tennessee were urged to form governments, and these organizations (though representing a small fraction of the state) were recognized as state governments by President Lincoln.

826. Did congress also recognize them?

Two congressmen from Louisiana were admitted to the house of representatives during the war, but this was about the time when congress was recognizing the Wheeling assembly as the government of Virginia. Later on, congress began to see that the return of the southern states to the union might prove embarrassing, and hence, in 1864, it opposed Lincoln's reconstruction policy, and passed a bill prescribing conditions on which the southern states might be admitted to the union. This bill President Lincoln refused to sign and so defeated it.

827. What course did President Johnson pursue?

He had been the provisional governor appointed to reconstruct Tennessee, and he followed Lincoln's example in appointing provisional governors and urging the organization of state governments that could take the place of the military rule and anarchy then prevailing.

828. Describe the plan of reconstruction?

The president appointed temporary governors of the southern states, and these governors called conventions of delegates elected by the white people, the voters under ante-bellum state laws. These conventions adopted state constitutions, and called elections for state officers.

829. Who took part in the conventions thus held?

Preparatory to reconstruction, President Johnson issued a proclamation of amnesty to those lately engaged in the rebellion, specially excepting fourteen classes of the confederates, whom he held especially responsible. (To individuals of these classes, he offered to grant pardon on their personal application.) Only those southerners amnestied or pardoned by the president took part in the reconstruction, and these only after they had taken the oath of allegiance to the constitution and the union.

830. Were any further conditions imposed?

Yes, the conventions when they met, were required to

do three things, (1) to declare void the ordinances of secession, (2) to repudiate the debt of the states incurred in aid of the rebellion, and (3) to ratify the thirteenth constitutional amendment.

831. How did the president's plan differ from that prescribed by congress in the bill of 1864, rejected by president Lincoln?

In essential particulars, it differed very little. The bill of 1864 required the provisional governor to make "an enrollment of white male citizens, submitting to each an oath to support the constitution." When a majority of the white male citizens had done this, delegates to a constitutional convention were to be elected by the enrolled voters and the convention was to incorporate in its constitution a provision disfranchising the higher grades of officers in the confederacy. Beyond these provisions, there was no essential difference in the two plans, and no guarantee was or could have been required that the disfranchisement of confederate leaders should be perpetual.

832. Give the history of the passing of the thirteenth amendment.

The thirteenth amendment, prohibiting slavery, was proposed by congress Feb. 1, 1865, and Dec. 18, of the same year, was promulgated by Secretary Seward as having been ratified by twenty seven states—eight of these being the reconstructed states of the south.

833. How does the adoption of the thirteenth amendment involve the question of the status of the southern states?

If the southern states were in the union in 1865, but unprovided with lawful governments (by reason of the nullity of Johnson's reconstruction) then the thirteenth amendment was not and could not have been, adopted.

834. When did Johnson's reconstruction end?

In the spring of 1866. April 2, 1866, the president issued a proclamation recognizing the existence of proper civil governments in the southern states and declaring the union restored and all insurrection in the southern states manifestly at an end.

835. What was the purpose and aim of Johnson's reconstruction?

It aimed to bring the southern states back into the union without subjecting them to further humiliation, and by



giving them a share in the profits of the union to encourage their acceptance of it,—love for it being recognized as an unreasonable requirement.

836. Wherein was the weakness of Johnson's policy?

It failed to take into account the feeling of the north on the negro question. Hatred of the south was still rife at the north—as was only natural—but it might have been suppressed had it not been re-inforced by the determination of the Abolitionists not to leave the freedman to the tender mercies of his old-time oppressors. This feeling was strengthened by the course taken by the southern states in legislating for the emancipated blacks.

837. What can you say of the legislation by the southern states for the freedmen?

Though by no means as hostile and vindictive as it has been represented to be, it was evidently based on the assumption (1) that the negro was not to be trusted with complete freedom, and (2) that the interests of the whites were pre-eminently to be considered. (While the southerners might fairly claim to be the best judges of the necessity or expediency of such legislation, the distrust felt by the north of their good will toward the blacks was fully justified by circumstances.)

838. What solution of the difficulty was proposed?

The passage of a fourteenth amendment to the constitution, guaranteeing the legal equality of citizens and putting a check upon unjust legislation on the part of the state. Such an amendment might fairly have been required of the southern states as a condition precedent to their restoration to the union.\*

839. What stood in the way of a reconstruction on this basis?

The dominant party at the north naturally considered the probability that the southern members of congress would unite with the Democratic members from northern states,

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\*The prompt rejection by the southern legislatures of the fourteenth amendment, as presented to them in 1866, makes it doubtful whether the essential features of that amendment would have been accepted by them without some degree of coercion. Yet it was confidently stated, at the time, that the first two sections of the amendment could have been put through if presented as a settlement of the question. On the other hand the south were encouraged by the breach between the president and the Republican leaders in congress to hope for restoration to their constitutional rights on more favorable terms.

and so prove a check upon Radical legislation. This being the case, they resented, first, the fact that the south was entitled to representation in proportion to its population—including 4,000,000 of freedmen—and, second, the retention as leaders in political affairs at the south of the men who had been prominent in the confederacy.

840. Was it not natural that the south should seek to be represented by its recognized leaders?

Yes, but the northern Republicans had all along cherished the belief that the south had been dragged into rebellion, and that there was, if not a majority, at least a strong minority, secretly attached to the union. (Beyond the existence of a small percentage of union men at the south during the war, there does not seem to have been warrant for this belief.)

841. What action was taken by congress?

In June, 1866, congress by joint resolution proposed the fourteenth amendment to the constitution in the form in which it was finally adopted.

842. How was the amendment received by the states?

It was adopted by twenty of the loyal states and by one of the reconstructed states of the south—Tennessee. The other ten ex-confederate states rejected it, as did also the three loyal states of Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky. (Three other states—Iowa, California and Nebraska—were considered in favor of the measure, but up to March, 1867, had not acted upon it.)

843. Meanwhile, what change had taken place in congress?

The people of the north had fully endorsed the Radical reconstruction policy in the congressional elections of 1866, and the fortieth congress—which was called to meet March 4—was even more Radical than the thirty-ninth. Thus reinforced, the Radical leaders proposed not to rest with the exclusion of the southern states until they should have accepted the fourteenth amendment, but to proceed to reconstruct them and enforce the adoption of the measure.

844. How did they set about this?

March 2, 1867, they passed the first reconstruction act, based upon the premise that "no legal state governments or adequate protection for life or property existed in ten of the southern states." (Tennessee had been re admitted to congress on her passage of the fourteenth amendment.)

The act divided the states in question into five military districts, and subjected them to martial law until satisfactory state governments should be formed, until these had ratified the fourteenth amendment, and until the said amendment should have become part of the constitution of the United States.

845. What was done to ensure compliance on the part of the southern states?

The act provided for negro suffrage and for the disfranchisement of the classes proposed to be disfranchised by the fourteenth amendment. To enforce these provisions a second reconstruction act was passed by the fortieth congress March 23, 1867, and other supplementary acts were passed in July, 1867, and March, 1868.

846. Were these acts put into effect?

Yes; President Johnson vetoed them—as was expected—but as congress passed them over his veto, he proceeded to enforce them. Military rule was established at the south and a registration of persons entitled to vote under the reconstruction acts was duly made. (This registration showed large negro majorities in the states of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, and a slight majority in Florida.)

847. What was the immediate result of the reconstruction so effected?

Conventions were held and state governments were framed, chiefly by persons chosen by the negro vote. It was charged that a majority of the deputies so chosen were northern Republicans—adventurers who were said to have brought nothing south but a carpet-bag, and were hence nicknamed carpet-baggers.\*

848. What must be admitted concerning the Radical scheme of reconstruction?

That it was altogether reckless concerning the nature of the government to which it subjected the south. Stringent requirements were made as to "loyalty" and deference to

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\*It is a fact that a large majority of the Republican leaders at the south were not natives of that section. About sixty per cent of the delegates to the constitutional conventions are listed (by Democratic agents, however,) as "imported," and a still larger majority of the governors, senators and representatives were men who settled in the south after the war. Legally, of course, no objection could be made, but it could scarcely be expected that the southerners would look upon these men as their "representatives."

the will of congress on the negro suffrage and civil rights questions, but nothing further was asked. Congress held itself in no way responsible for the behavior of the men it had legislated into power.

849. When was the admission of the southern states conceded by congress?

In June, 1868, bills were passed declaring that seven of the ten states were duly reconstructed and fit for admission subject to certain conditions afterwards fulfilled. (Virginia, Mississippi and Texas at first refused or neglected to comply with the requirements of the reconstruction act.)

850. When was the fourteenth amendment proclaimed a part of the constitution?

It was promulgated hypothetically July 20, 1868, by the secretary of state, Mr. Seward, and on the day following was plainly asserted to have been adopted by a joint resolution of congress. Hence it has been generally recognized as a part of the constitution.

851. Whence the doubt as to its ratification by the states?

Mr. Seward announced that *if* the states of Ohio and New Jersey had no right to recall their previous ratification, then the amendment had been adopted by twenty-nine states—the necessary three-fourths of the union. He also implied a doubt whether the newly-constituted bodies at the south were constitutional legislatures. For these and other reasons, the opponents of the amendment north and south at first refused to consider the amendment legally binding, but it has since been recognized by the courts, and endorsed by Democrats as well as Republicans, and will probably never be repudiated as long as the majority of the voters find it satisfactory.

852. Meanwhile, what difficulty had arisen between the president and the majority in congress?

Owing to his arbitrary removal of Edwin M. Stanton from the office of secretary of war, in defiance of the order of the senate, President Johnson was, in 1867, impeached by the house of representatives, tried by the senate, and barely escaped conviction and removal from office.

853. Give the history of the affair.

One of the many acts passed by congress for the vexation or coercion of the president, had been the tenure-of-office

bill.\* This bill took from the president the right to remove officials of the higher grades unless the senate consented to the removal. In 1867, the president asked for the resignation of Secretary Stanton, and, this being refused, suspended that official and ordered Gen. Grant to take charge of the war office. The senate refused its consent to the suspension, thereby forcing upon the president a cabinet officer whom he both disliked and mistrusted.†

854. Did the president submit?

No; February 21, 1868, he informed the senate that he had, in the exercise of the power and authority vested in him by the constitution, removed Mr. Stanton from office and designated the adjutant general of the army—Lorenzo Thomas—as secretary *ad interim*.

855. And for this he was impeached?

This was not the sole ground of the impeachment, by any means, but it may be considered the cause thereof. The house of representatives had already, after full investigation by a committee, defeated a motion to impeach the president by a vote of 108 to 57. Immediately after the removal of Stanton, the house adopted impeachment resolutions by a vote of 126 yeas to 47 nays; 17 members not voting.

856. What action was then taken?

Feb. 25, 1868, the house proceeded to "impeach Andrew Johnson, president of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors," presenting its charges at the bar of the senate which was to act as a court of trial.

857. Give the gist of the charges made.

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\*Of the tenure-of-office act, it must be said that it was unprecedented. No such restriction had ever before been placed upon a president. It was virtually repealed as soon as Grant became president, and was altogether wiped out by congress in 1885. President Johnson believed it unconstitutional and hoped to force his opponents to appeal to the courts, and so test the matter. He was greatly vexed that Gen. Grant willingly gave place to Stanton after the senate's decision became known, as he hoped to make Stanton appeal to the court for a writ of *quo warranto*.

†"For the first time in the history of the United States an officer distasteful to the president and personally distrusted and disliked by him was forced upon him as one of his confidential advisers in the administration of the government. In the *prima facie* statement of this case the senate was in the wrong. Upon the record of its votes and the expression of opinion by its own members, the senate was in the wrong. The history of every preceding administration and of every subsequent administration of the federal government, proves that the senate was in the wrong."—Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress."



They began with the undisputed fact of the removal of Stanton, in violation, (or in alleged violation\*) of the tenure-of-office act, but they also proceeded to charge that he had conspired with Lorenzo Thomas and others to violate the laws—a trivial offense so far as proven—and had treated and spoken of congress in a manner that “tended to bring that body into disgrace, ridicule, hatred, contempt, and reproach.” (In proof of this charge of libel, they cited his speeches delivered two years before.) Finally, it was charged that the president’s defiance of the authority of congress was in pursuance of a denial—also made in 1866—that the thirty-ninth congress was the congress of the United States authorized by the constitution, inasmuch as it represented only part of the states.

858. How far did Johnson go in his denial of the authority of congress?

He certainly maintained that it was not rightfully constituted, but he accepted it as the federal congress *de facto*.† He defended his defiance of its orders in removing Stanton on entirely different grounds.

859. How was the president tried on the charges made?

By the senate, sitting as a high court of impeachment, with the chief justice as presiding officer. The trial lasted from March 30 to May 12, 1868.

860. What was the conclusion?

Two votes were taken in the senate on the chief article of impeachment and in both of these, 35 senators voted “guilty,” and 19 “not guilty.” As a two-thirds vote was

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\*The act provided that members of the cabinet should hold their offices, for and during the term of the president by whom they may have been appointed. Strictly speaking the act was not violated by the removal of Stanton, who had been appointed by President Lincoln. Considering this fact, and the further fact that (as the president offered to prove) the cabinet, including Mr. Stanton himself, had, one year before, unanimously pronounced the act unconstitutional, the charge of manifest insubordination seems ill-founded. Besides the matter might have been taken into the court for settlement.

†A statement was published by Chauncey M. Depew just after Grant’s death in 1885, to the effect that Johnson, in 1866, proposed to set up a rival congress, composed of members from the south and northern Democrats, and this wicked plot was foiled only by the patriotism and vigilance of Gen. Grant. The story is not only without historic probability, but it is directly denied by Grant’s own testimony before the house committee on impeachment. See “Twenty Years in Congress,” Vol. II, p. 344.

necessary for conviction, the impeachment was not sustained.

861. Was this result unexpected?

Yes; seven of the negative votes were cast by Republican senators in good standing with their party, and it was thought that none of these would dare to violate the commands of the party managers by voting to acquit the president.

862. How was their insubordination punished?

They were virtually driven from the party as if they had themselves committed a high crime and misdemeanor.

863. Is it still a Republican dogma that Johnson should have been found guilty?

By no means. Blaine, an ardent advocate of the impeachment, writes (in 1885) that it was "not justifiable on the charges made,"—though he still holds Johnson guilty in his reconstruction policy. He would ask "any candid man if he believes a precisely similar act committed by a president in harmony with his party would have been followed by impeachment, by censure, or even by dissent. It is hardly conceivable, nay, it is impossible" (he says) "that under such circumstances the slightest notice of the president's action would be taken by either branch of congress." (There are also other prominent Republicans who are not afraid to do honor to the dissenting senators.\*)

864. What effect did the affair have upon the country?

It created much less disturbance than might have been expected, being regarded merely as a political broil. In any case the near approach of the presidential election would have overshadowed it in interest. As it was, the politicians simply appealed to the people, and the result was the election of a Republican president and a Radical majority in both houses of congress.

865. Outside of politics, what was the most notable event of Johnson's administration?

The laying of the Atlantic cable in 1866, and the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867. (Both events are

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\*"Never did two men show more clearly the quality of true statesmanship or render a more precious service to their party and their country than Senators Fessenden and Trumbull when they dared to act independently of party in the impeachment case against President Johnson. They saved us from the creeping paralysis which is now gradually benumbing the political energies of France."—*James Russell Lowell*, 1888.

in their way noteworthy, though there is, of course, no standard of comparison between them.)

866. What was the Atlantic cable?

A submarine cable for telegraphic communication with Europe. It was laid from Ireland to Newfoundland after several failures, and was found to work properly. This encouraged the laying of many other submarine cables, so that telegrams are now received from nearly all parts of the civilized world.

867. What of the purchase of Alaska?

It was bought by the United States from Russia in 1867 for \$7,200,000. It contains over half a million square miles of territory, but it was at first lightly esteemed, and its purchase condemned and ridiculed. Time has shown it to be a paying investment from a financial point of view.

868. What state was admitted during this administration?

Nebraska; this territory was organized in 1854, by the bill repealing the Missouri compromise. Its admission as a state was delayed by the opposition of President Johnson, who defeated two bills of admission, saying that while the states of the south were kept out of congress, it was no time to hurry in northern territories with meager population and resources. He also objected to the congressional assumption of control over the question of suffrage in the new state. This opposition was finally overridden by congress, and Nebraska was admitted in time to take part in the election of 1868.

869. Who were the candidates in the presidential campaign of 1868?

The Republican convention put up Gen. U. S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax, on a platform endorsing the Radical reconstruction at the south. The Democrats nominated Gov. Horatio Seymour of New York, and Gen. Frank P. Blair of Missouri, on a platform demanding the "immediate restoration of all the states to their rights in the union under the constitution."

870. What states did not take part in this election?

The states of Mississippi, Texas and Virginia, which were still held under military rule.

871. What was the result?

Of the 294 electoral votes cast, Grant and Colfax received

214, and Seymour and Blair 80. The Republicans had a large majority on the popular vote.

872. Had Johnson's reconstruction been allowed to stand, would the result have been the same?

The Republicans would undoubtedly have won the presidential election. At most, Seymour and Blair would have had 144 electoral votes, to 173 for Grant and Colfax.

873. What can you say of the successful candidates?

Grant was at this time well known as a successful general. Born in Ohio in 1822, he had chosen to be a soldier and had been educated at West Point, where he graduated in 1843. After serving in the West and in Mexico, he resigned and engaged in business. In 1861, he was given command of an Illinois regiment, and by repeated victories merited and obtained promotion to the rank of lieutenant general before the close of the war. Schuyler Colfax was a congressman from Indiana, and had been for some time speaker of the house of representatives.

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#### CHAPTER XX.—GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION.

874. How long was Grant president?

Eight years; from March, 1869, to March 1877, being re-elected for a second term in 1872.

875. What amendment to the constitution was made during this term?

The fifteenth amendment, which declares that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

876. Give the history of this amendment.

It was proposed by congress just after the election of 1868, and submitted to the states in February, 1869. It was promulgated March 30, 1870, as having been ratified by the legislatures of thirty states, and thereby became recognized as a part of the constitution.

877. Was the adoption of the amendment a logical result of the previous election?

It was the natural outgrowth of the situation. The Republican leaders in congress were encouraged by the party victory to propose the amendment, but the measure

itself was a new one, and one which had not been considered in the election of 1868.\*

878. In view of this fact, what was proposed?

The Democrats demanded that their opponents should, (as a proof of good faith), submit the amendment to delegate conventions of the people of the states instead of to the state legislatures already elected. This the Republicans emphatically refused to do.

879. Was the adoption of the amendment unquestionable?

It was not. The ratification of this amendment was at first generally denied by its opponents, and its final acceptance by them was undoubtedly due to policy rather than conviction.

880. How could this have been avoided?

The passage of the amendment by state conventions would have been a sufficient answer to all objections, not based on the peculiar condition of things in the unreconstructed states. It would have settled the question whether the amendment was really acceptable to three-fourths of the states then actually composing the union.† (For to require the quasi-territories of the south to accept the amendment, and use their votes to force it upon northern states, would have been what lawyers call "sharp practice.")

881. When were the rest of the southern states admitted?

In 1870; the states of Virginia, Mississippi and Texas, having complied with the requirements of congress, were declared reconstructed and their representatives were admitted to congress.

882. Was this the end of federal legislation for the south?

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\*The Republican national platform in 1868 declared that "The guaranty by congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the south was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in the loyal states properly belongs to the people of those states."

†The disputed states were New York, Indiana and Georgia. New York revoked her ratification. In Indiana sixty-seven members of the house of representatives were necessary to legislate upon state affairs, but sixty-five members declared themselves a quorum to ratify the amendment. In Georgia, the state had been admitted on her ratification of the fourteenth amendment, but owing to the unseating of several colored members, congress had again remitted the state to military rule and demanded the ratification of the fifteenth amendment.



No; congress continued to legislate on behalf of the negro and southern Republicans, but of this legislation scarcely a trace remains. Most of its acts have expired by limitation and not a few were set aside as unconstitutional on appeal to the courts.

883. What important treaty was concluded in 1871?

The treaty of Washington, intended to settle disputed questions between England and America.

884. What were these questions?

They related to the so-called *Alabama* claims, to the Canadian fisheries, and to a disputed point in the northwestern boundary of the United States.

885. What were the *Alabama* claims?

Claims against England arising out of her alleged liability for the depredations of the Confederate cruisers that were built or equipped in English ports.

886. Give the history of previous negotiations on this subject.

The list of individual claims had been presented to England in August, 1866, after a vain attempt to persuade the English government to admit its liability, or submit the question to friendly arbitration. A treaty for the settlement of the said claims by a joint commission was negotiated in 1868, but this was rejected by the United States senate.

887. Why was it rejected?

Because it was not considered sufficient satisfaction for the insult and injury that the United States had received. It did not admit that England was at fault, and even though England's liability for the damages done could have been shown, the projected commission could only pass upon the direct claims for loss; it could not consider the national claim for loss indirectly incurred.

888. What was the nature of the indirect claims?

The United States as a nation undoubtedly lost much by the hostility of the British government during the war. But in most cases England had acted within her own right (according to international law) and even where she had not, indemnity could only have been exacted by war.

889. Was this generally recognized?

It was not; Americans were not willing to go to war about the matter, but they took the undignified attitude that their forgiveness and future friendship must be purchased with a good round sum.

890. In view of this, what course did England take?

To avoid the possibility of future complications, she desired to have the direct claims of individuals separated from the indirect and semi-sentimental claim of the nation, and to that end proposed—without committing herself on the question of her liability—to submit the disputed questions to a joint commission of the two nations.

891. When and where did this commission meet?

At Washington, D. C., in February, 1871, and there, after prolonged negotiation, a treaty was drawn up and signed covering all points in dispute.

892. How were the *Alabama* claims disposed of?

To save the dignity of the two nations, it was proposed to submit the question of damages to an international commission which was to meet at Geneva, Switzerland. But the main questions were settled by mutual concessions at Washington, so that the points actually submitted at Geneva were few and unimportant.\* The amount of damages—a mere matter of calculation and assessment—was fixed by the Geneva board at \$15,500,000, and this was paid by England to the United States for distribution to the individual claimants.

893. How were other matters disposed of by the treaty?

Claims by British subjects against the United States were to be settled by a joint commission to meet at Washington. The fisheries question was settled for a term of years subject to a claim for indemnity to be submitted to an international commission; while the matter of the disputed boundary—between Washington Territory and Vancouver Island—was submitted to the judgment of the emperor of Germany, who decided in favor of the United States.

894. What other important treaty was negotiated?

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\*There was a farcical attempt made by the United States counsel to get the so-called board of arbitration to pass upon the "indirect claims" which had been dropped in the negotiations. The very limited discretion given the board was made strikingly apparent by their dealing with this matter. They were, in fact, not allowed to pass officially even upon their own jurisdiction over the question.

A treaty for the annexation of San Domingo to the United States was negotiated by the president, but rejected by the senate. (The government of San Domingo was anxious for the annexation, and President Grant also favored it, but the measure was bitterly opposed by some of the party leaders in the senate, headed by Senator Sumner of Massachusetts.)

895. Outside of politics, what was the chief event of Grant's first term?

The completion of the first Pacific railroad, making connection by rail between the east and the states of the Pacific coast. This enterprise had been greatly favored by the government, and had received political endorsement, as necessary to the public welfare. The opening of the road, in 1869, was made the occasion of public rejoicing throughout the country.

896. What noteworthy conflagration occurred during this period?

The burning of a large part of Chicago Oct. 9-11, 1871, and another most destructive fire in Boston in November, 1872. By the Chicago fire \$200,000,000 worth of property was destroyed, and 100,000 people were left homeless. By the fire in Boston, property to the extent of \$70,000,000 was consumed.

897. During Grant's first term, what change occurred in the Democratic party platform?

Though the Democrats had generally opposed the reconstruction acts as unconstitutional, and denied the lawful adoption of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, they saw plainly that these enactments could not be overthrown in any way that the people of the north would tolerate. Hence, by what was called "a new departure," they recognized the *de facto* enactment both of the laws and the amendments, and thus conceded their validity.

898. What other concession was made?

The Democratic proposition to "pay the national debt [or a large share of it] in greenbacks" was withdrawn, after the "act to strengthen the public credit" of 1869, and the refunding acts of 1870 and 1871, had been passed; for these acts specifically and unmistakably pledged the pay-

ment of the entire bonded debt in coin.\*

899. What other changes occurred to affect the political outlook in 1872?

A "Liberal Republican" movement had been started, first in a state election in Missouri, and afterward in national affairs. Its rallying points were denunciation of Grant's administration of the civil service, and condemnation of his (alleged) unconstitutional interference with affairs of the south in support of the southern Republican state governments.

900. What action was taken by these Liberal-Republicans?

A convention was called to meet at Cincinnati. The persons who took part in this convention were, for the most part self appointed to attend, but they represented the dissatisfied element of the Republican party. This convention adopted a platform expressing its views with regard to the south, but not otherwise differing from that of the old party.

901. Who were the candidates put forward by this convention?

Horace Greeley of New York, and Benjamin Gratz Brown of Missouri. Greeley was the editor of the New York *Tribune*. Brown had been one of the leaders of the Liberal Republican movement in Missouri, and had been elected governor of that state.

902. On what did the Liberal Republicans base their hope of success?

On the apparent demoralization of the Democratic party, which, they hoped, would lead that party to accept their platform and candidates. (This hope was, in a measure, fulfilled.) The endorsement asked for was given by the Democratic leaders in convention at Baltimore, but the bulk of the party refused to accept Greeley as their leader, and, generally speaking, neglected to vote at all.

903. Who were the Republican candidates in 1872?

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\*The position of each party in the presidential campaign of 1868 was precisely the reverse of the other: the Republicans held the normal law of payment of government obligations to bond-holders to be in coin, unless payment in paper money had been previously agreed upon; the Democrats held that all government obligations, incurred on an inflated greenback basis, might be discharged in paper unless payment in coin had been previously agreed upon.

The Republican convention, meeting at Philadelphia, re-nominated President Grant, and chose Senator Henry M. Wilson of Massachusetts, for the second place on the ticket

904. What was the result of the election?

Triumphant success for the Republicans, who carried thirty-one of the thirty-seven states, and most of these by large majorities. Yet the total Republican vote was but little larger than it had been in 1868, when three states were altogether excluded, and when the party obtained only 214 (instead of 286) electoral votes. This result was plainly due to the large "stay-at-home vote" of the Democrats. This theory was still further supported by the result of the next congressional election in 1874.

905. What was that result?

A most remarkable change in the political complexion of congress. The position of the parties in the lower house of congress was completely reversed, sixty or seventy seats being lost by the Republicans. In the senate, too, the same party lost, not indeed the control of the body, but a total of nine votes, with the certainty of further loss when the terms of the southern senators expired.

906. Had the political situation changed since 1872?

Yes; there had been a financial panic, followed by a great depression of business. This, to some extent affected political views. There had, moreover, occurred numerous political scandals that cast discredit on the administration, and the party in power. As a result the Democrats were encouraged, and their former disgust and apathy seemed to have transferred itself to the Republican party.

907. What was the result of this Democratic victory?

Its chief result was a thorough overhauling of the administration by congressional investigating committees, and a still further discovery of dishonesty and malfeasance in office. The discoveries made astonished and disgusted the better class of Republican leaders, who, though by no means disposed to desert their party, showed no disposition to defend the condition of the civil service.\*

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\*"My own public life has been a very brief and insignificant one, extending little beyond the duration of a single term of senatorial office, but in that brief period I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for corruption or maladministration. \* \* \* I have seen the chairman of the committee on military affairs in the house, now a distinguished member of this court, rise in his place and demand the expulsion



908. What trouble arose with Spain during Grant's administration?

In 1873, the *Virginus*, an American vessel engaged in conveying reinforcements and munitions of war to Cuban rebels against Spain, was captured on the ocean by a Spanish vessel and taken to Cuba, where the crew and passengers were court-martialed and many of them put to death. The illegal seizure of the vessel (engaged though it was in unlawful trade) and especially the ferocity with which the prisoners were dealt with, was highly resented by the United States, and there was some talk of war. The matter was, however, diplomatically arranged and atoned for on the part of Spain.

909. What Indian troubles occurred?

A minor war was fought in 1873 to compel the Modoc Indians to leave their "lava bed" region, near Klamath Lake, in Southern Oregon, and go on a government reservation. In this war, Gen. Canby and other officers were killed, but the Indians were finally taken. In 1876 another war was rashly provoked to bring the Ogallala Sioux under Sitting Bull, under subjection. In this strife Gen. Custer and a regiment of cavalry, were every one killed in a battle near Big Horn river, Southern Montana. (The Indians retreated to British America where they remained till 1881, when they returned to their reservation.)

910. What state was admitted during this administration?

Colorado. This territory was organized in 1861, three years after the discovery of gold at Pike's Peak. There was an attempt to rush it into the union in 1865-66, to strength-

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of four of his associates for making sale of their official privilege of selecting the youths to be educated at our great military school. When the greatest railroad of the world, binding together the continent, and uniting the two seas that wash our shores, was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous reports of three committees of congress—two of the house and one here—that every step of that mighty enterprise had been taken in fraud. I have heard, in highest places, the shameless doctrine avowed by men grown old in public office, that the true way by which power should be gained in the republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service, and the true end for which it should be used when gained is the promotion of selfish ambition and the gratification of personal revenge. I have heard that suspicion haunts the footsteps of the trusted companions of the president. These things have passed into history. The Hallam, or the Tacitus, or the Sismondi, or the Macaulay who writes the annals of our time will record them with his inexorable pen."—*Senator G. F. Hoar in 1876.*

en the party in power, but the bill was vetoed by the president. The territory then contained about 28,000 population and even this was said to be diminishing. When finally admitted, ten years later, the population reached nearly 130,000, and its resources were greatly developed.

911. Whence the name of this state?

From its principal river; the name signifies red or ruddy.

912. What notable anniversary was celebrated in 1876?

The centennial of the signing of the declaration of independence. An international exposition was held at Philadelphia, from May until November, and this was made a great affair, and was visited by nearly ten million people.

913. Who were the candidates in the presidential election of 1876?

The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana. The Republicans put up Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and William A. Wheeler of New York. (Candidates were also nominated by the minor parties, but the vote for them was insignificant.)

914. What was the result of the election?

There was a long wrangle over the legal result, which was finally carried to congress for settlement. In the November election the Democrats carried at the north the states of Indiana, New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, and at the south they were conceded all the states but South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana. This gave them, beyond dispute, 184 of the 369 electoral votes. They also claimed to have carried South Carolina, and had, "upon the face of the returns" good majorities in Florida and Louisiana. The Republicans, however disputed the returns, alleging that intimidation had been used to effect the Democratic triumph.

915. How could the matter be remedied?

It could not be remedied. The only remedy for an unfair election would be to hold it over again, and that was impossible. Moreover, the Democrats were unwilling to admit that intimidation could have affected the result, and the Republicans, of course, could not prove it.

916. Why need the votes of those states be counted?

There was good precedent for the exclusion of the electoral votes of disputed states, but the votes of all the states in question were necessary to the election of a Republican president. (Even with these votes Hayes would have but one majority.)

917. Was there any way of gaining these necessary votes?

Yes; Republican state governments had, up to this time, been maintained in the three disputed states partly by the consent of the people and partly by the military support of the federal government. To perpetuate their power, these governments had given to the state "returning," or canvassing, boards extraordinary authority over the returns sent in. In some cases they could upon properly certified proof of public disturbance at the polls, throw out or exclude the entire vote from the precinct.

918. How were these powers exercised in 1876?

Most arbitrarily, and with no deference to Democratic or even non-partisan opinion. As a consequence, any belief that the count in the disputed southern states, in 1876, was honest, must rest entirely upon faith, without regard to evidence.\*

919. What was the result in the states?

Hayes and Wheeler were said to have received 185 electoral votes, and Tilden and Hendricks 184.

920. How did the matter come before congress?

Congress has always claimed the right to decide disputes about the electoral votes, and the rule, since 1865, had been that "no electoral vote objected to shall be counted except by the concurrent vote of the two houses." This rule was not compulsory, and the Republicans, for obvious reasons, repudiated it. It was still necessary, however, for the two houses to agree upon the count, as otherwise no canvass of the electoral votes would be legal, and no president at all could be legally declared elected.

921. What was done?

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\*In Florida two of the three state canvassers at first certified to a majority of 926 for the Hayes electors. A second canvass, made by order of the legislature (after the legal points had been decided by the state supreme court) gave a majority of ninety-four for the Democratic electors. In Louisiana the "face of the returns" gave a Democratic majority of 6,549; the returning board—excluding over 13,000 Democratic, and 2,000 Republican, votes—certified to a Republican majority of 4,807. Moreover, it cannot be denied that most of the polls were illegally thrown out, upon charges made *after* the returns had been sent in. In accepting the Louisiana canvass as fair, we are required to believe that, in scores of cases, intimidation which escaped the notice of Republican registration and election officers, was afterwards shown to have changed the result of the election. A more plausible theory is that the Republicans believed themselves entitled to Louisiana on account of its large negro vote, and accepted *any* evidence as sufficient to exclude a Democratic poll.

Unwilling to see the country disturbed and somewhat fearful that President Grant would usurp the power to decide matters, the Democrats proposed to leave the question to a joint commission of the two parties. After considerable debate this was agreed to, and an electoral commission of fifteen members was appointed.

922. How were these members chosen?

Five were chosen by the senate, five by the house and five by the federal supreme court from among its own judges. It was agreed that the decision of this commission was to stand unless overruled by the vote of both houses.

923. What was the political complexion of the commission?

It contained eight Republicans and seven Democrats. (It had been proposed that the fifteenth man should be a non-partisan—David Davis of the supreme court—but as Davis had just been elected senator from Illinois by Democratic votes, he considered it more honorable to decline the place, and Judge Bradley was chosen.)

924. How was the matter brought before the commission?

From each of the disputed states at the south two sets of electoral votes had been sent—one set cast by the Republican electors and the other by their Democratic opponents. The question raised was whether congress should accept the canvass of the state boards without question, or whether it should consider the evidence offered that the canvass had been unjust and unfair. This was the question to be decided by the commission.

925. How was it decided?

The commission voted—eight Republicans to seven Democrats—that the canvass as well as the balloting was a state affair, and that congress could not “go behind the returns,”\* to

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\*This gives the purport of their decisions only. To show the particular argument, we quote from the decision ruling out evidence in the Florida case: *Held*, That it is not competent under the constitution and law as it existed at the date of the passage of the act constituting this commission to go into evidence *aliunde* the papers opened by the president of the senate in the presence of the two houses, to prove that other persons than those regularly certified to by the governor of Florida, according to the determination and declaration of their appointment by the board of state canvassers prior to the time required for the performance of their duties, had been appointed electors, or by counter proof to show they had not, and that all proceedings of courts or acts of the legislature, or of the executive of Florida, subsequent to the casting of the votes of electors on the prescribed day, are inadmissible for any such purpose.

inquire into either the fairness of the election or the honesty of the canvass.

926. What was the Oregon complication?

A legal matter The Republicans had undoubtedly carried the state, but one of the electors voted for was legally ineligible. The governor—a Democrat—declared that this ineligibility nullified the vote cast for the Republican and elected his Democratic opponent. The Republicans claimed that it only created a vacancy which the two Republican electors proceeded to fill. In deciding this point, also, the commission by a strict party vote, favored the Republican party.

927. What was the final outcome?

The majority of the commission allowed Hayes and Wheeler 185 electoral votes and the houses could not agree in changing the decision. Hence Hayes was inaugurated president of the United States.

928. What can you say of the successful candidates?

Rutherford Birchard Hayes was born in Ohio in 1822. He became a lawyer; served in the army during the war and attained the rank of brigadier-general. Served in congress in 1865-7 and as governor of Ohio in 1868-72 and 1876-7. Wm. A. Wheeler was born in New York in 1819; was a New York congressman from 1861 to 1876.

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#### CHAPTER XXI.—HAYES' ADMINISTRATION.

928. How long was Hayes president?

One term of four years only; from March 5, 1877 to March 4, 1881.

929. How did President Hayes begin his administration?

By making extraordinary and unexpected concessions to the opposition. In his inaugural address he declared in favor of a new policy toward the southern states—an abstention from interference in state affairs by the federal government. His cabinet, too, contained one Southern Democrat and several by-no means stalwart Republicans.

930. What was the most noteworthy feature of his southern policy?

His abandonment of the Republican state governments in the southern states which had been counted for his party by the electoral commission.



## 931. State the circumstances.

In Florida there was no dispute, as the state supreme court had intervened and had given the state to the Democrats. But in South Carolina and Louisiana the Republicans maintained governments and demanded federal recognition and support. In Florida the supreme court (of Republican origin) had held the action of the returning board in counting in the Republican candidates illegal, and, months before the electoral count, there was no longer any legal support for the claim that Hayes had carried Florida. In South Carolina the legislature was empowered to count the vote for governor. The state canvassers had refused certificates to eight Democrats in order to make the legislature Republican. This was in defiance of an order of the state supreme court which thereupon imprisoned the canvassers and issued court certificates in place of those refused.

## 932. Did that settle the dispute?

No; rival legislatures were organized and rival state governments were set up. President Grant refused to decide the matter, but for four months kept a body of United States troops at Columbia charged to resist any attempt, legal or illegal, to forcibly disturb existing conditions.

## 933. How were matters settled in Louisiana?

In Louisiana the Republican candidate for governor, Stephen B. Packard, had, on the face of the returns, 2,366 more votes than were given to the Hayes electors; so that the action of the returning board gave him the appearance of being elected by a large majority. The same canvass gave the Republicans a majority in the state legislature. A rival canvass was made by a "citizens' committee," and the result was altogether in favor of the Democrats. Jan. 1, S. B. Packard and F. T. Nicholls were both inaugurated as governor, and rival bodies, each claiming to be the state legislature, were duly organized. Both state governments demanded recognition by the president, and Packard also demanded troops to put down the opposition to his authority.

## 934. What did President Grant do in this case?

As in South Carolina, he refused to decide and used his power simply to maintain existing conditions until Hayes was inaugurated. The new president, therefore, found rival governments both in South Carolina and in Louisiana.

935. How did President Hayes deal with the South Carolina case?

He simply withdrew all attempt at federal interference and in thirty days D. H. Chamberlain sailed for New York, deserted by all his former adherents. There was no violence, there was no need of violence, as the courts—though originally Republican—had decided in favor of Governor Wade Hampton. The result fully justified the president's course, according to precedents set by President Grant in similar cases.

936. How was the Louisiana case dealt with?

In Louisiana, neither party had been allowed to establish a *de facto* government and, therefore, it still remained for the president to decide which party had the best claim to control the state. Had Mr. Hayes desired—as the majority of his party desired and expected—to keep the party in power in Louisiana, he might legally have done so by the recognition of Packard, on the same ground that sufficed for the electoral commission in recognizing the Hayes electors.

937. Did he do so?

He did not. He sent a commission to the state to "bring about the removal of obstructions to an acknowledgment of one government" and this commission rallied an undoubted quorum of the legislature in recognition of the Nicholls' government. This done, Nicholls became governor *de facto* if not also *de jure*, and was so recognized.

938. How was the president's decision received?

It was naturally applauded by the enemies of the carpet-bag governments, but criticised by many stalwart Republicans as an "unwise and unwarranted act."\* It was even charged that Hayes and his friends had secured the acquiescence of the southern members of congress in the electoral count, by pledging the sacrifice of Packard but this was denied by the Ohio members.†

939. How was this matter revived during Hayes's administration?

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\*So writes Mr. Blaine, who says: "The election of the president and the election of Mr. Packard rested substantially upon the same foundation, and many Republicans felt that the president's refusal to recognize Mr. Packard furnished ground to his enemies for disputing his own election."

†Major E. A. Burke, of New Orleans, acting as Nicholls' agent in Washington in February, 1877, describes in his letters and despatches the conclusion of this alleged bargain between his faction and "Sherman, Matthews, Garfield and Foster," from whom he says he has received "written guarantees."

By the Potter investigation, conducted by a committee of the forty-sixth congress, headed by Clarkson N. Potter of New York. The result of the investigation was a thorough overhauling of the election of 1876 in the disputed states. In one sense all such investigation must be considered useless, since the decision of the electoral commission was regarded as final. But it was considered good party policy to keep the "frauds of 1876" before the people until 1880.

940. What exposure of Democratic villany occurred to offset this?

The publication of the Democratic "cipher despatches." These were culled from some 700 political telegrams which had been "retained" by an employe of a congressional committee in 1876, when some 30,000 similar despatches "mostly in cipher," had been laid before the committee by the Western Union Telegraph Company. The telegrams which were finally translated and given to the public, had passed between Democrats in the east and their accomplices in the south, during the canvass of the disputed states by the returning boards.

941. What was the purport of these despatches?

They showed the existence of a plot to bribe the members of the returning boards to give a decision in favor of Tilden and Hendricks. This failing, a similar ineffectual effort was made to purchase electoral votes. (It is noteworthy, perhaps, that throughout the disputed contest of 1876, when all sorts of motives, good, bad, and indifferent, appealed to the individual, no one in any degree wavered in his service to his party.)

942. Who was implicated by the exposure of the cipher despatches?

The persons who had actually taken part in the plot were not prominent members of the party, but as one of them was Mr. Tilden's nephew, there was some effort made to show that the Democratic candidate was cognizant of the attempted bribery. He testified under oath to his ignorance, and those who believed in his uprightness, believed his testimony. The affair was, generally speaking, accepted as damaging to the reputation both of the candidate and of the party, however slight may have been their moral responsibility for the scandal.

943. What was the second marked feature of President Hayes' administration?

His civil service reform policy. The question of a reform in the civil service had been raised six years before, and a half-hearted attempt was made by President Grant to establish rules for the admission of persons to the lower grades of the service, but the reform was soon abandoned. President Hayes took up the matter more energetically.

944. What did he do?

He directed competitive examinations for certain classes of positions in the service, the place to be awarded to the successful competitor, without regard to politics. He also prohibited to officeholders active participation in political campaigns. (The object of the proposed reform was to secure the appointment of fit persons, and to ensure to these permanent tenure of office during good behavior.)

945. Was the reform successful?

The president lacking the support of congress, did not accomplish much, but he began the reform substantially as it was afterwards continued.

946. What political questions arose at this time?

The "silver question" and the agitation for the exclusion of the Chinese.

947. What was the silver question, and how did it present itself?

In 1873, congress demonetized the silver dollar, *i. e.* deprived it of its legal tender character and struck it from the list of coins of the United States. This attracted little attention at that time. Other countries were demonetizing silver, and there was a theoretical opinion in favor of "a single standard"—the gold dollar—as a basis for our paper currency. But by 1878 the comparative value of gold and silver had changed, so that the silver dollar was worth from ten to fifteen per cent less than the gold dollar. This made the people, and especially the debtor class, greatly discontented. Owing to the contraction of the currency, money was becoming more difficult to obtain, and consequently more valuable as compared with other commodities. The impending resumption of specie payments would, it was thought, still further reduce the volume of the currency. Hence there arose a popular clamor for the remonetization of silver.

948. What was the objection to this?

Objections were made on politico-economical grounds, and

also on the practical basis of injury to the "creditor class"—*i. e.* those who, whether rich or poor, had money owing to them. Finally, the interests of the "debtors" and property owners generally, who desired high prices, prevailed, and in 1878 a bill remonetizing the silver dollar was passed, vetoed by the president, and repassed over his veto.

949. What was the nature of the bill and why was it vetoed?

The Bland silver bill (so-called from its chief promoter,—R. P. Bland of Missouri) provided for a legal tender silver dollar of  $412\frac{1}{2}$  grains,—but not for the free, or unlimited coinage of the same. A monthly coinage of not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 was directed, in order that the inflation of the currency might be graded and prolonged. President Hayes vetoed the bill, saying that "the silver dollar authorized is worth eight or ten per cent less than it purports to be worth and is made a legal tender for debts contracted when the law did not recognize such coin as lawful money."

950. What answer was made to this argument?

The silver men maintained that gold has risen in value rather than that silver had fallen, and that therefore there was no dishonesty or injustice to creditors in their measure. It was also argued that, what with the limited silver coinage, and the rise in silver caused by the new demand, it would be many years before there would be any difference in the value of the two dollars.

951. How far has the latter argument been justified?

After ten years the two coins still circulate at par. This is mainly owing to the inflow of gold into this country and to the abundant revenues of the government, on account of which there has never been any occasion for refusing payment in gold when desired, or for putting a premium on the gold desired for export.

952. What was the Chinese immigration question?

The extensive immigration of Chinese laborers to this country began after the conclusion of the Burlingame treaty in 1868, and in a few years showed its natural effect in reducing wages on the Pacific coast. As wages there had been very high, there was at first little disposition to listen to the complaints of the workingmen against having to compete with "Chinese cheap labor." But the question of excluding the Chinese soon became a political one, and attempts were made to bring it up in congress. Finally,



in 1878, a bill was passed restricting the importation of Chinese to fifteen for each vessel, and ordering the peremptory abrogation of those clauses of the Burlingame treaty which recognized the right of Chinamen to visit and reside in this country.

953. Did the president approve this bill?

He did not; he vetoed it on the ground that it was a violation of existing treaties with China. The bill was thus defeated, but the president began negotiations with China which resulted, in 1881, in a modification of the Burlingame treaty, permitting our restriction or prohibition of further Chinese immigration for a term of twenty years, and laws restricting such immigration were subsequently passed.

954. What were the labor troubles of 1877?

During the summer of 1877 there were many labor strikes, especially among railroad employes. The strikers, in some places, refused to allow trains to run. In Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis, and other cities, riots occurred, and these were suppressed only by the help of federal troops. (In Pittsburgh, for instance, the riots continued three or four days; 100 lives were lost and \$3,000,000 worth of property was destroyed.)

955. What troubles occurred with the Indians?

In 1877 an attempt was made to cajole or coerce a portion of the Nez Perce Indians to leave their hunting grounds and go (with the remainder of the tribe) on a limited reservation. They rebelled and went on the war path. Gen. O. O. Howard with a body of troops marched against the hostiles who attempted to escape by flight first to the southeast, and then through Montana to British America. They were pursued for 1,500 miles, captured and taken to Indian Territory.

956. What was the condition of business during this administration?

It began with disorder and depression, but became satisfactory, though by no means buoyant, towards its close. In 1879, according to appointment, the government resumed specie payments, offering to redeem its legal tender notes, on presentation, in coin. This was accomplished without disturbance to business, a fact which tended to encourage investors.

957. What did the census of 1880 show?

It showed a remarkable increase in the population—some eleven millions since 1870—the total population of the union rising above fifty millions.

958. Did it not also show a most profitable decade in business?

The aggregate of invested capital reported, showed a mighty increase over that of 1870, and on this had been based the assumption that the business of the country has passed a most profitable decade. As a matter of fact the profits on invested capital had steadily declined, as was shown by the marked lowering of the rate of interest. (The marked increase in "capital" is explained by increased estimation placed upon real estate, especially in the west and south.)

959. How had the rate of interest declined?

From 8 and 10 per cent in 1870, the rate declined to 6 and 7 in 1880. The government, refunding its debt, found it difficult to borrow at 5 per cent in 1870; easy to borrow at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  and 4 per cent a few years later when the bulk of the debt was refunded, and toward the end of the decade borrowed readily at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and even 3 per cent. In addition to this, the government bonds held abroad were called home by the increasing demand for them on the part of American investors.

960. What notable inventions were made or perfected during this period?

The telephone and electric light may be mentioned among those in use by 1880. Also the typewriter, for several years regarded as a toy; as the phonograph now is. Likewise elevated and cable street railways, the one coming into use in New York and the other in San Francisco. Among the triumphs of inventive skill may also be mentioned the jetties which now keep the mouth of the Mississippi river open to navigation by sea-going vessels.

961. Who were the candidates in the presidential election of 1880?

The Republican convention met at Chicago, and after a long wrangle,—caused by an attempt to nominate Gen. Grant for a third term—nominated James A. Garfield of Ohio, and Chester A. Arthur of New York. The Democratic convention met at Cincinnati and nominated Gen. Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania, and William H. English of Indiana. (The National Greenback party nominated James

B. Weaver of Iowa, and B. J. Chambers of Texas; but these, though they received over 300,000 of the popular vote, carried none of the states.)

962. Why did the Democrats not renominate Tilden and Hendricks?

Partly on account of the ill-health of Tilden (who, indeed, declined to be a candidate) and partly it may be assumed, because they did not care to revive the scandal of the "cipher despatches."

963. What can you say of the campaign of 1880?

It was hotly contested. The Democrats assailed Garfield's reputation for honesty but without avail. Garfield proved especially strong with the Independents in the doubtful states of New York and Indiana where Hancock and English could not, it appeared, control the normal strength of their party. Finally, there was a partly successful attempt to stampede the labor vote into the Republican party by the cry of "free trade," and a still more disreputable attempt to counterbalance this by publishing an alleged letter from Garfield approving Chinese immigration to compete with home labor.

964. Why was the latter more disreputable than the former?

Nothing can be said against the free-trade scare except the insincerity of its promoters, but even had the "Morey letter" been genuine, (it is now conceded to be a forgery) there was nothing in it of which Garfield need have been ashamed.\* If, in the hands of demagogues, it influenced the labor vote of the Pacific States, its work was done by an appeal to blind hatred of the Chinese.

965. What was the result of the election?

Garfield and Arthur secured 214 electoral votes to 155 given for Hancock and English. Outside of the "solid

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\*The following is the text of the letter alleged to have been written by James A. Garfield, representative in congress, under date of Jan. 23, 1880, to H. L. Morey (a fictitious personage), Employers' Union, Lynn, Mass. : "DEAR SIR: Yours in relation to the Chinese problem came duly to hand. I take it that the question of employes is only a question of private and corporate economy, and individuals or companies have the right to buy labor where they can get it the cheapest. We have a treaty with the Chinese government which should be religiously kept until its provisions are abrogated by the action of the general government, and I am not prepared to say that it should be abrogated until our great manufacturing and corporate interests are conserved in the matter of labor. Very truly yours,  
J. A. GARFIELD."

south" Hancock secured only the vote of Nevada, and five of the six electoral votes of California.

966. What can you say of the successful candidates?

James Abram Garfield was born in Ohio in 1831. He became a school teacher, a college professor, and a lawyer; entered the army in 1861 and rose to the rank of major general. Was notably well informed in politics, had been in congress since the war, and was, at the time of his nomination, senator-elect from Ohio. Chester Alan Arthur was born in Vermont in 1830. Was a lawyer by profession but chiefly known as a New York state politician and whilom collector of the port of New York.

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CHAPTER XXII.—GARFIELD'S AND ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

967. How long was Garfield president?

A little over six months. He was inaugurated March 4, 1881, and died the 19th of the September following.

968. What caused his death?

A shot from the pistol of Charles J. Guiteau, received July 2, 1881. Guiteau was tried and executed for the crime the following year. He was considered responsible for his acts, though undoubtedly weak-headed.

969. What led to the assassination?

A wrangle between party factions over appointments to office, accompanied by indiscriminate abuse of the president. Guiteau affirmed that he killed Garfield to "make Arthur president and unite the Republican party." He was himself a disappointed office-seeker, but, beyond this, had no cause for personal enmity toward the president.

970. What was the extent of the trouble over the offices?

It arose out of the attempt of Senators Conkling and Platt of New York state to prevent the appointment of W. H. Robertson as collector of the port of New York. (Robertson led an opposing faction, and had thwarted Conkling in his attempt to nominate Grant for a third term, and thus aided in the nomination of Garfield.) Conkling and Platt, being unable to defeat Robertson's appointment, resigned their seats and appealed to the state legislature to "vindicate" them by re-election. Failing to secure this ratification of their course, they retired from politics.

971. Who succeeded Garfield?

Vice-president Arthur. He took the oath of office Sept. 20, 1881, and served till March 4, 1885.

972. Did this cause any special change in the administration?

Arthur belonged to the Conkling faction, and was, in a way, opposed to Garfield's administration, of which James G. Blaine, then secretary of state, was a leading spirit. He made comparatively few changes in the civil service. Blaine and most of the other members of the cabinet retired, but there was no attempt to remove subordinates on account of the quarrel between the party leaders.

973. How did Blaine's retirement affect matters?

It modified our foreign policy somewhat. Blaine was inclined to assert the authority of the United States over other countries of the Western Hemisphere, to a greater extent than had been customary. By the new administration this assertion of jurisdiction was withdrawn.

974. What was the Darien canal question?

In 1881, the DeLesseps Canal Company was formed to construct a ship canal across the isthmus of Darien. The United States immediately put forward a claim of suzerainty over the canal—a claim that was denied both by the canal company and by Colombia (the territorial sovereign of the enterprise) and also refused recognition from England and France.

975. Upon what was our claim based?

On our interest in the control of the canal, growing out of our Pacific coast line. These made it desirable for us to own a canal, in order that we might send war vessels from one ocean to the other.

976. Was not England in the same predicament?

Yes; England had an Atlantic and a Pacific coast to defend in her American possessions, and in recognition of this fact she had, in 1850, negotiated a treaty with the United States that the neutrality of the canal was to be guaranteed by joint national protectorate in which all commercial nations should be asked to join. (The United States had changed her mind and wished to put aside this treaty as obsolete.)

977. What rival project of interoceanic communication were discussed at this time?

A ship canal across Nicaragua, following the river San Juan, and Lake Nicaragua; also a ship-railway across the isthmus of Tehuantepec. The Nicaragua route was longer



than that at Panama but by the use of locks the canal could be made more cheaply. The ship railway was designed to transport ships overland on cars—a novel scheme, and one that many engineers pronounced impracticable.

978. Who was secretary of the treasury under Garfield and what was his debt-refunding scheme?

William Windom of Minnesota. \* The forty-sixth congress had passed a refunding bill but it had been vetoed by President Hayes. Windom, therefore, found himself without legal authority to refund, though by so doing he could save the government a large share of its interest charge. He therefore called in the bonds and re-issued them by endorsement at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent—an extra legal process, but one which succeeded because the bondholders preferred to take lower interest rather than surrender their bonds for payment.

979. Why did the treasury not pay the bonds and stop the interest wholly?

Because it had not the money for more than a fraction. To induce bondholders to consent to the arrangement, the treasury engaged to call the extended bonds in reverse order, so that the bonds first extended would have the longest run. As it was certain that the government could borrow all the money it needed at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  or even 3 per cent, Mr. Windom's scheme was a success.

980. Did congress endorse Secretary Windom's action?

Yes; the next congress promptly passed a refunding bill authorizing a three per cent bond to complete the refunding of the old bonds and as many of the extended bonds as could be again refunded.

981. What were the "star route" frauds of 1879-80?

The "star routes" are those over which the mail is carried otherwise than by rail. In 1881 it was discovered that the annual cost of ninety-five of these routes had been unwarrantably increased at a cost to the government of over a million dollars. Prominent officials and politicians were implicated and tried for conspiracy to defraud the government, but though the evidence was strong, the jury failed to convict them.

982. What was the object of the international monetary conference of 1881?

In 1881 an attempt was made, (and it has since been repeated, though with little hope of success) to bring about an inter-

national agreement as to the ratio of silver to gold in coinage. A conference of commissioners was held at Paris in April, 1881, but after repeated adjournments extending a year or more at a time the conference was abandoned. There appeared no general demand for an equivalent coinage of silver, and international exchanges have continued to be reckoned in gold.

983. What was the tariff revision attempted in 1882-83?

In 1882, congress authorized a commission to be appointed to consider a revision of the tariff with a view to a general reduction of duties. The commission was a protectionist measure designed to prevent injury to America industries through the tariff reduction then supposed to be inevitable.

984. What did the commission accomplish?

It conducted an investigation lasting from June to December, 1882, and then reported a scheme designed to reduce the revenue 20 per cent and also to some extent lower the scale of protection.

985. Was this proposal accepted?

No; the interests affected protested against it. The last dollar of protection given soon becomes as necessary as the first, owing to home competition, and a general cry was raised against any reduction.

986. Did congress not act in the matter?

Yes; in 1883 a tariff bill was passed so as to lower the revenue somewhat, without injury or offense to the "protected" classes.

987. What was the civil service reform bill of 1883?

This was a bill introduced by Mr. Pendleton of Ohio in 1880. It authorized the appointment of a commission of three to aid the president in preparing rules for the administration of the civil service. These rules were ordered to establish admission to the service by competitive examinations, tenure during good behavior for a fixed term, and promotion on a basis of merit and competition. Both the collection and payment of political assessments are forbidden under penalty of fine and imprisonment, and no officeholder can be removed or otherwise prejudiced for failing to contribute to party campaign funds.

988. What was the Edmunds anti-polygamy bill of 1882?

Popular feeling against the Mormons resulted, in June, 1882,

in the passage of a stringent anti-polygamy bill. It attacked polygamy both directly as a crime and indirectly as treason to the republic, and deprived all Mormons of many of their ordinary political rights. It was recognized as oppressive, but was accepted because its efficacy in suppressing polygamy was believed in.

989. What polar expeditions came to grief during Arthur's administration?

The "Jeannette" expedition, sent out in 1879 by the proprietors of the New York *Herald*, to explore the arctic seas north of Behring Strait; and the Greely expedition, located at Lady Franklin Bay, Grinnelland, by the United States government in 1881.

990. Describe the mishaps of the Jeannette expedition.

The ship Jeannette, commanded by Capt. De Long, was caught in the ice soon after reaching the arctic seas, and, after drifting northwest some months, was crushed and sunk June 11, 1881, 300 miles from the northern coast of Siberia. The crew escaped in three boats, of which two reached the delta of the Lena river. One party made their way to settlements and were saved. Of the other boat load (commanded by De Long himself) all but two perished from cold and hunger.

991. What was the Lady Franklin Bay expedition and why was it sent out?

It was one of a number of parties stationed within the arctic circle in accordance with the recommendation of the international polar conference of 1879. Its work was mainly scientific observation of meteoric and other phenomena.

992. How did it come to grief?

Altogether through the blundering of the government officials charged with the rescue of the expedition in 1883. Lieut. Greely and his command of twenty-four men had been ordered when left at Lady Franklin Bay, in 1881, to remain there till the fall of 1883 and then march overland to the head of Smith Sound, as the ice might prevent the relief ship from passing the strait northward. This he did, but one relief ship, the Proteus, was crushed and sunk just after passing the strait, and the survivors hastened back to Upernavik and from there returned home on the Yantic, making no provision for the relief of Greely.

993. Who was held to blame for this action?

The officers in command of the relief expedition plead that

they had obeyed strict orders from the war department, and a court of inquiry acquitted them. Censure then fell on the signal office, which should have foreseen possible disaster and issued orders accordingly.

994. What was the fate of Greely and his party?

They reached Cape Sabine soon after the retreat of the relief expedition, and endeavored to winter there. When rescued, by a second expedition, the following June, seventeen of the band of twenty-four had perished of cold and hunger.

995. What became of the surviving officers of these unfortunate expeditions?

Lieut. Danenhower of the Jeannette became an instructor in the Annapolis Naval Academy, where he stayed till his death in 1887. Engineer Melville, also of the Jeannette, is now engineer in chief of the navy. Lieut. A. W. Greely is now a brigadier general and at the head of the signal office of the war department.

996. What is the weather bureau of the signal service?

It is a distinct function of the government service that has grown out of a resolution passed by congress in 1870. The reporting of the weather signs and the forecasting of weather probabilities has been for ten years a recognized duty of the signal office. The prevalence of cyclones in the west and south in 1882-83 caused these to be included among the objects of study by the official weather observers.

997. What was the "standard time" system adopted by railroads in 1883?

In November, 1883, many railways in this country adopted a uniform system of reckoning time, based upon solar time at four given meridians. Eastern time is reckoned at the 75th meridian; central time, at the 90th; mountain time, at the 105th, and Pacific time, at the 120th. The difference in time between these meridians is just one hour.

998. What changes in the postal service were made in 1883?

In the fall of 1883, letter postage was reduced from three cents to two cents, per half ounce, and the postal note for the transmission of money was introduced.

999. What was the trouble concerning Oklahoma in 1881-82?

In 1880, it became known that the title to Oklahoma, in the central part of Indian Territory, was still vested in the United States, by whom it was held in trust for settlement by Indians.

Immediately, concerted attempts were made by settlers to colonize the country, in the hope of forcing congress to open the territory to settlement. The government has always opposed the settlement, as it is in duty bound to do, but a bill has been introduced in congress to organize Oklahoma with the western part of Indian Territory into a separate territory for settlement by whites.

1000. What Indian troubles occurred during Arthur's administration?

There was an outbreak of the Apache Indians in Arizona and New Mexico in the spring of 1883. It was promptly subdued by Gen. George Crook and the hostiles returned to the reservation.

1001. What colossal monument was dedicated during this administration?

The Washington Monument, which reached its full height—555 feet—Dec. 6, 1884, and was dedicated with imposing ceremonies Feb. 21, 1885. (The corner stone of this monument was laid July 4, 1848.)

1002. What was the Readjuster movement in Virginia state politics?

An attempt to make political capital out of a partial repudiation of the state debt. In 1879, the Readjuster Democrats, headed by Gens. Mahone and Riddleberger, secured a majority in the state legislature, and repudiated some thirteen millions of the state debt, on the ground that it represented "interest which accrued during the war and the reconstruction." One-third of the original debt having already been repudiated as "West Virginia's share," this readjustment left about twenty millions of acknowledged debt, and this the Readjusters offered to fund in taxable 3-per-cent bonds. (As the bondholders have so far refused to refund, they seem likely to get nothing.) The scheme proved a winning one in politics, and Mahone and Riddleberger were both elected to the United States senate. Moreover, though the Bourbons have regained power, they have felt obliged to continue the repudiation.

1003. How was the repudiation movement regarded at the north?

At first as immoral and scandalous and altogether indefensible. Then tolerable, if not excusable as a political expedient, and finally defensible on the ground that the Bourbon Democrats have been proved to be not more honestly inclined.



The next step (perhaps already taken) places it on the list of tabooed matters not to be censured in the public schools.

1004. What was the result of the autumn elections of 1882?

The result showed remarkable gains by the Democrats in the northern states and in the congressional elections. Democratic governors were elected in California, Colorado, Connecticut, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Nevada, Ohio and Pennsylvania, the retiring governor in each instance being a Republican. The congressional election showed a net gain of fifty-six members for the Democrats. (There was an inexplicable failure to vote on the part of the Republicans, rather than any increase in the Democratic vote.)

1005. What candidates were nominated in the presidential canvass of 1884?

The Republicans met at Chicago and nominated James G. Blaine and John A. Logan. The Democratic convention, held also at Chicago, put forward Grover Cleveland and Thomas A. Hendricks. The Greenback-Labor or "People's Party" met at Indianapolis, and nominated Benjamin F. Butler and A. M. West of Mississippi. The Prohibition convention assembled at Pittsburgh and nominated John P. St. John of Kansas and William Daniel of Maryland.

1006. What was the result of the election?

Victory for the Democratic candidates, but by so close a vote that the result was for some days disputed. A plurality of about 1,100 votes was finally shown for Cleveland in New York state, and this threw the entire electoral vote of the state for the Democrats and elected their ticket. The electoral vote stood: Cleveland and Hendricks 219 votes; Blaine and Logan 182. The large vote called out had its effect in the congressional election and the Democratic majority of seventy-two in the house was cut down to thirty-nine.

1007. What can you say of the successful candidates?

Cleveland was born in New Jersey in 1837. He became a lawyer and practiced at Buffalo, N. Y., where he was elected mayor on a reform ticket in 1881; in 1882 a similar movement led to his nomination for governor and he was elected by an unprecedented majority. His conduct as a mayor and as governor won him many friends, and the fact that he was able to "carry New York" made his nomination certain. Hendricks had been candidate for vice president in the mem-

orable contest of 1876. He was born in 1819 near Zanesville, Ohio. He was a lawyer and prominent Indiana politician and had represented his state in the United States senate in 1863-69.

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#### CHAPTER XXIII.—CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

1008. For what was the beginning of Cleveland's administration notable?

For its moderation in making changes in the existing civil service, which was almost entirely composed of Republicans. (During the first six months, only about one eighth of the service became Democratic, whether by removal, resignation or retirement, at expiration of term, of Republican incumbents.)

1009. What was the "World's Fair" of 1884-85?

An international exposition held at New Orleans from December, 1884, to June, 1885. It was intended especially to encourage commercial relations with Mexico and South America.

1010. What similar institution is proposed?

A permanent, or at least perennial, "Three Americas Fair" at Washington, D. C. A congress of the nations of the Western Hemisphere has also been invited to meet at Washington, to devise means of promoting international commerce in spite of the tariff.

1011. What new attempt was made, in 1884-85, to lower the tariff?

The "Morrison tariff bill"—so called from its author, W. R. Morrison of Illinois,—which was rejected by both the forty-eighth and forty-ninth congresses. The principle of the bill was a general reduction of duties 20 per cent, without any attempt to revise the tariff laws or correct their inequalities.

1012. What is the fisheries question that has arisen between the United States and Canada?

The trouble seems to have been brought about by the New England fishermen. The treaty of Washington, concluded in 1871, secured to American vessels inshore fishing rights on Canadian coasts, and as a reciprocal favor took off the duty on Canadian fish. In 1883, the New England fishermen persuaded congress to abrogate the fishery clauses of the treaty—saying that the privileges accorded by Canada were worthless. This was done, and in 1886 the duty was restored on Canadian

salt fish, and Canada began to deny to American fishing vessels all rights not expressly guaranteed to them by treaty.

1013. Is this the extent of Canada's misdemeanor?

No; if it were, the New England fishermen might be left to enjoy the situation they themselves have invited. Canada has, it is said, gone further and ill-treated American fishing vessels by making illegal seizures and denying commercial rights that should have been accorded to us. The difficulty is, however, to secure an agreement as to the existing rights of our fishermen on Canadian shores. A treaty with that end in view, was negotiated with Canada in 1888, but it was rejected by the senate as inadequate.

1014. What change of policy as to Central American canals was made by Cleveland's administration?

One of the last acts of Arthur's administration was the making of a treaty with Nicaragua, looking to the construction of the proposed Nicaragua ship canal at the expense of the United States, said canal to be controlled exclusively by the two countries signing the treaty. This treaty was suppressed by the new administration, as undesirable in itself and as a violation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with England

1015. What were the labor strikes of 1886?

Labor troubles seemed to culminate in 1886. This was chiefly owing to the confidence inspired in workingmen by extensive labor organization. The knights of labor, especially, claimed a membership of 500,000, and vaunted their organization as practically invincible. In March, 1886, an extensive strike was begun by the employes of the Southern Pacific railroad; this, though supported by the knights of labor, failed utterly after two months' trial. Similar strikes, generally unprovoked, were begun the same spring. There was at this time an attempt to establish a working day of eight hours.

1016. Give figures showing the extent of recent labor troubles.

For the six years ending Dec. 31, 1886, the commissioner of labor reports that there were 3,903 strikes and 2,182 lock-outs in this country. The total number of employes involved was 1,478,172. Of the strikes 46½ per cent were successful, 13½ partly so and 40 per cent failed. The losses of employers is given at \$34,164,914; that of the strikers (in wages) as \$59,948,882.

1017. What especially discredited the strikers in 1886?

The attempts of conspirators to overthrow the local authorities and establish anarchy. In Chicago seven policemen were killed with a dynamite bomb. This aroused the people to a sense of the danger to public safety from riotous demonstrations and public sympathy was temporarily withdrawn from the strikers.

1018. What effect has the labor agitation had upon congress?

Congressmen, with a view to the satisfaction of the workmen, have, in many ways, tried to show "sympathy with Labor." So far little has been done beyond the collection and publication of statistics. Enforced arbitration by government commissioners has been proposed in the case of strikes. Indirectly, too, congress has taken the side of the striker by restricting Chinese immigration, and prohibiting the importation of laborers under contract.

1019. What is the alien land law?

In 1887 an act was passed to prohibit the acquisition of real estate in the territories by aliens. Some of the states have passed similar laws barring the transfer of title to foreigners, and discriminating against foreigners already owning land in this country.

1020. What was the presidential succession bill?

An act passed in January, 1886, to provide a successor to the presidency, in case of a vacancy in the office of vice president. The right of succession is vested in the members of the cabinet—in a prescribed order, beginning with the secretary of state—and not, as heretofore, in the president of the senate and the speaker of the house.

1021. What was the electoral count bill?

A bill passed in December, 1886, to regulate the electoral vote for president and the counting of the same by congress. It changes the date of election by the colleges from December to January, and prescribes rules for the counting, to prevent a dispute like that of 1876.

1022. What was the inter-state commerce bill?

In January, 1887, congress passed an act for the regulation of the freight and passenger charges made by inter-state railways and other transportation companies. As far back as 1873 an agitation for the legal government of railway charges was begun, and many of the western states had passed laws accordingly. The necessity for federal legislation arose from

the lack of state authority over the "through freight" traffic. A permanent commission was appointed to see to the enforcement of the law.

1023. What policy has been maintained toward the Indians?

Hostility has been repressed with some sternness. In 1885 the Apaches, spared by Gen. Crook on their promise of good behavior, again went on the war path. Much time was spent in pursuing them, but in September, 1886, the last of the hostiles surrendered and were carried to Florida to be kept under strict surveillance. The general policy of the government toward the Indians now is to educate them, break up the reservations and the tribal organization, and establish each Indian family on its own farm, to be hereafter subject to the ordinary laws of the land.

1024. What is the government policy toward the Mormons?

The forty-ninth congress, in 1887, passed a still more rigorous anti-Mormon law, framed by Senator Edmunds to meet the deficiencies of his former bill. It is intended to vex and discourage Mormon polygamists, and thus make polygamy unpopular in Utah; also to break the power of the Mormon church by disfranchising its members, dissolving its corporation and confiscating its property.

1025. Where is the Lick Observatory and for what is it notable?

It is situated on Mt. Hamilton, near San Francisco, Cal. It is noted for the possession of the largest refractor telescope in the world. This telescope was completed and set up in 1888.

1026. What is the Bartholdi Statue of Liberty?

A gigantic statue of "Liberty enlightening the World," designed by M. Bartholdi of France. It was presented by the French people to the United States, and was set up in the harbor of New York, where it was formally dedicated Oct. 28, 1886.

1027. What impetus has been given to manufactures in the Ohio Valley during the last few years?

The discovery and use of natural gas. This cheapened the item of fuel—always a costly one in manufacture by the aid of machinery—and led to a great increase of factories in the localities where the gas was to be had.



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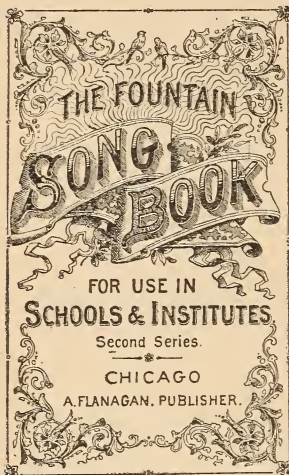
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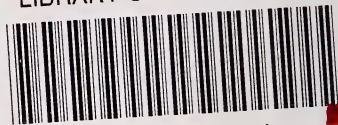








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